

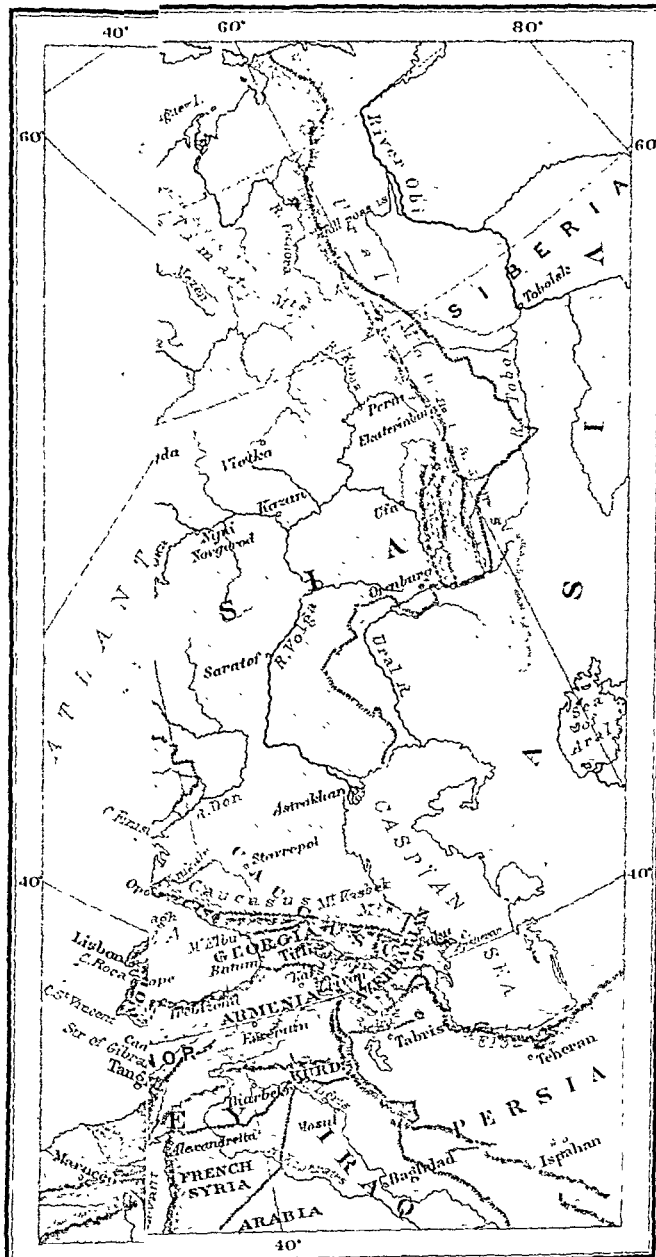
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A GENERAL HISTORY OF EUROPE

(PART II. 1500-1922)

BY

OLIVER J. THATCHER AND FERDINAND SCHWILL

EDITED FOR USE IN BRITISH COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS, BY

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WITH MAPS AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES

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THIS volume of *A General History of Europe* originally ended at 1900 A.D., but so much has happened since it first appeared, and the political situation in Europe has altered so completely, that it has been obvious for some little time that a supplement was needed.

An additional chapter has accordingly been included, and the opportunity has been taken at the same time to revise thoroughly the record of the last half century. It is hoped that the book now provides a comprehensive and trustworthy account of the events leading up to and arising out of the Great World War.

September 1924.

The Bibliographies at the commencement of each volume have been prepared by Professor Francis Clarke, M.A., of the East London College, and include publications up to June 1929.

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A SHORT LIST OF USEFUL WORKS ON MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

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- CHS—Cambridge Historical Series. Cambridge University Press.
ES—Twelve English Statesmen. Macmillan.
FS—Foreign Statesmen Series. Macmillan.
HN—Heroes of the Nations. Putnams.

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THE MODERN PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

THE task before us in this new division of our work is to follow the development of Europe through the Modern Period. The Modern Period is, like the Medieval Period, no sharply defined section of history, with a fixed beginning and a fixed end, but a division serving to denote, in a general way, the prevalence of certain tendencies in the life of man. It was during the Transition Period of the Renaissance (1300-1500) that the distinctively modern tendencies became rooted in civilization, and it is by the end of the Renaissance, and, therefore, at approximately the year 1500, that we may fix the beginning of the Modern Period.

The Modern Period begins approximately with the year 1500.

Now, before we take up the study of Europe in the Modern Period, let us rapidly draw together the threads of the story which we have thus far followed. This can be best done under three heads:

The preliminary inventory.

A. The leading factors of the civilization of the Renaissance.

B. The voyages of discovery.

C. The European states at the beginning of the Modern Period.

The ordering of our facts under three heads ought to provide us with a convenient inventory of the European situation at the beginning of our period.

A. THE LEADING FACTORS OF THE CIVILIZATION OF THE RENAISSANCE.

It was during the Renaissance that civilization lost its distinctive medieval forms and acquired those characteristics which we call modern. The leading agencies in this process are once more rapidly enumerated: *and definitely*

(1) *The Revival of Learning.*—First in Italy, and later in the countries of the north, men began to get interested in the long-forgotten literature and art of Greece and Rome. By patient labour they excavated, as it were, the buried culture of antiquity, and added it to their meagre medieval stock. Thus the medieval man became gradually better equipped to do man's work in the world, and soon engaged in intellectual investigations of which he had been formerly either incapable or afraid. Learning had been confined to things appertaining to religion; it was now extended to all things appertaining to man.

(2) *The Revival of Industry and Commerce.*—A remarkable feature of the later medieval centuries was the growth of the cities. They developed a flourishing industry and commerce, and, sheltered by their walls from the depredations of the country barons, became so many hearths in plain and valley of political order and material well-being. We have seen how the Crusades were instrumental in extending the range of western trade and manufacture, and we have seen how in consequence of them the Mediterranean became the great highway of international traffic. Although Venice and Genoa and the other Italian cities were the first to draw an advantage from this situation, the northern cities on the English Channel and the North and Baltic Seas felt ere long the new commercial stimulus. The nations of Europe were thus being continually drawn more closely together, and were mutually profiting from this closeness, when, during the Renaissance, a number of hardy seamen opened up by their voyages of discovery new commercial prospects of a brilliance far beyond anything the

Mediterranean had known. The voyages of discovery must be reckoned in their effects among the most far-reaching of the events which usher in the Modern Age, and are, in fact, so important that we reserve them for special treatment later on.

(3) *The Inventions.*—The introduction of gunpowder (fourteenth century) altered entirely the conditions of war. The superiority of the mounted Knight over the foot-soldier was thereby destroyed. Thus, through its loss of importance in the military field to which, during the Middle Age, it owed its political pre-eminence, the feudal order of nobles received an irreparable injury. A standing army of mercenaries was found by a ruler to be both more serviceable and more reliable than a self-willed aristocracy. The king in consequence began to emancipate himself from the control of his nobles. The invention of printing,¹ by multiplying books, made culture accessible to the many, and ideas, hitherto the privilege of the priest and noble, began to throw their light on the dark and brutal lives of the lower orders.

(4) *The Growth of Absolutism.*—The social changes content upon the decay of the nobles and the growth of the crown involved also a political revolution. If in the Middle Ages the nobles had been the dominant political factor, first, because they formed the army, and, secondly, because they were the great source of wealth in that period, the king's power was based upon their possession. In the Modern Period, on the other hand, the introduction of gunpowder, they were no longer a

and land, owing to the growth of the colonies in America before the discovery of the New World. Columbus sailed on his first voyage in 1492, and his ships—the Santa Maria, the Pinta, and the Nina—had a common enemy in the Spanish monarch, Isabella (Guanahani). The Spanish monarch was strong enough to unseat them, and upon this voyage, Isabella, loaded him with honors. Gradually the king began to follow up his first policy, and to reduce the nobility. Thus the feudal system, which he first touched upon in 1493-96, on which he was based, which he first touched upon in the Orinoco. It was in its place arose the absolute monarchy of Spain, was brought back to its place by the fact that he landed on the coast of America, owing to the last that he attributed to John Gutenberg of

for the patience, energy, and enthusiasm that made the voyage possible were unexampled and were all his own.

In consequence of these triumphs discovery became a passion, especially among the Spaniards and the Portuguese.

The fever of discovery. Where fame and wealth so amply rewarded the successful, every adventurer's soul felt a personal summons to strike out into the new and unknown

Magellan. realms. No period of history is so astir with action and enterprise, so illumined by the purple light of romance. Of course every voyage added to the store of the world's knowledge, but of all the later expeditions, the one which, by virtue of its boldness and its results, may claim a place beside those of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, is the famous first circumnavigation of the globe. This remarkable triumph was achieved by a Portuguese in the Spanish service, Magellan,¹ after a succession of incredible hardships lasting three years (1519-1522).

One of the most notable facts in connection with the voyages of discovery was that the Europeans were not satisfied

The world divided between Portugal and Spain. with a mere acquaintance with the new countries or with opening up new markets for the home

traders; they also resolved to Christianize, govern, and colonize their discoveries; in a word, they

resolved to re-fashion them as a larger Europe. Naturally the zeal for colonial expansion, which almost immediately rose to extravagant proportions, led to shameless land-grabbing, and soon to quarrels among the rival nations. Spain and Portugal, the leaders in the movement, were the first to become involved in difficulties with one another, and their disputes brought about a famous intervention by pope Alexander VI. (Borgia). In the fifteenth century the pope, as Christ's Vicar, was still regarded as a peacemaker, the best arbiter of quarrels arising among the Christian flock. Upon being appealed to by Spain and Portugal for a settlement of their rival claims, he drew (1493) a line of demarcation, first one hundred leagues, and

¹ Magellan did not himself complete the voyage. He was killed on one of the Philippine Islands, 1521.

later three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde islands, and gave all the land to be discovered east of this line to Portugal, all west of it to Spain. This line of demarcation, which cut through the eastern part of South America, gave Spain a claim to the whole of the New World with the exception of what is now Brazil.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the chief centres of Spanish colonization were: (1) The West India group, whither Columbus himself had first directed the stream of emigration; (2) Mexico, which was won for the Spaniards by the great conqueror, Cortez; and (3) Peru, which was acquired by Pizarro. The plain facts of these two last-named conquests constitute an unequalled romance in which courage, religious enthusiasm, cruelty, and lust of gold contend with each other for supremacy.

The Portuguese travellers, who followed in the wake of Vasco da Gama, soon undertook, after the fashion of Spain, to bind to the home country by means of colonies the countries which they had discovered in the Indian Ocean. The chain of colonies, which they had been engaged for some time in establishing along the west coast of Africa, was gradually extended to the East Indian Archipelago, to India proper, and Further India. The Portuguese, who were not a numerous people, never succeeded in settling these countries with their own race in such force as to supplant the native element. They themselves understood this difficulty before long, and thereafter were satisfied with merely occupying advance-posts here and there, and with trying to secure by treaties exclusive trade-privileges with the peoples among whom they settled. With Brazil, their one possession in the western world, the case was different. This country they succeeded in winning for their nation, and it has remained Portuguese in tongue and manners to this day.

The northern European countries entered late, and with only gradually increasing fervour, into the contest for the possession of the new continents. The little which Henry VII. of

England did to secure for his country a share in the great extension of the world is of importance only by reason of consequence which he did not remotely foresee. In 1497, Henry, *The English* jealous of Portugal and Spain, at last equipped and *voyages.* sent westward one John Cabot, who was, like Columbus, a Genoese by birth. Cabot's purpose, as well as that of many English mariners after him, was to discover still another passage, a passage by the waters of the north-west, to the oriental fairyland, India, and by this means to elude the Spaniards, who were pushing for this same India by following a south-westerly course. The attempts of Cabot were destined to failure, but England by means of them secured at least a vague claim to the north-eastern coast of America. This claim, after being allowed to lie forgotten for a period, was revived during the reign of Elizabeth, and led, in the progress of time, to the foundation of English colonies of North America.

The French were even more lax than the English in the matter of colonization, and it was not until the reign of Henry *The French* IV. (1589-1610) that they remembered that an *colonies.* empire was being divided without consideration of themselves. They then hastened to undo as far as possible the consequence of their neglect by settlements in Canada, and, later, in Louisiana—that is, in the St Lawrence and Mississippi basins.

The Dutch owed their colonies to the long war of independence which they waged with the king of Spain. In 1580 *The Dutch* Portugal, as will be seen hereafter, was temporarily *colonies.* incorporated with Spain, the Portuguese colonies, in consequence of this act, becoming Spanish. The Dutch thereupon began to take away from the king of Spain both the Portuguese and the Spanish East-India trade and territory. This fact explains why the centre of the Dutch trade and colonial territory lies to this day in the Indian Ocean.

[illegible]

London: John Murray.

C. THE EUROPEAN STATES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN PERIOD.

The Empire.

At the opening of the Modern Period Maximilian I. (1493-1519), of the House of Hapsburg, was the head of the Holy Roman Empire, which, once universal, had been practically reduced to the territory of Germany. *The constitution of Germany.* The family of Hapsburg had grown so powerful in the fifteenth century that the German crown had almost become its hereditary possession. Theoretically, however, the crown was still elective. On the death of an emperor, a successor could be legally chosen only by the seven electors, who were the seven greatest princes of the realm.¹ The seven electors, the lesser princes (including the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries, such as bishops and abbots), and the free cities, ranged in three separate houses, composed the imperial Diet. The Diet was the legislative body of the Empire, without the consent of which the emperor could not perform any important act. Emperor and Diet together constituted the imperial government, if machinery as decrepit as the machinery of the empire had come to be, may be qualified by that name. In fact, the national government of Germany was little more than a glorious memory. Germany had not, like France, England, and Spain, advanced steadily in the later Middle Age toward national unity, but had steadily travelled in the opposite direction, and lost her coherence. The numerous princes, margraves, counts, prince-bishops, and free cities, constituting the so-called "estates" of the medieval feudal realm, had acquired a constantly increasing

¹ Of these seven electors three were ecclesiastical dignitaries and four were lay princes. The seven were : the archbishops of Mainz, of Köln (Cologne), and of Trier (Treves), the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine.

independence of the central power, and had reduced the emperor to a puppet.¹

The greatest interest attaching to Maximilian's reign is connected with the circumstance that under him the last serious attempt was made to remodel the antiquated machinery of the imperial government. In the latter half of the fifteenth century something like a wave of national enthusiasm had swept over Germany, and beginning with the Diet of Worms of 1495, a number of Diets met to discuss measures of reform. The result was a miserable disappointment; for what was done did not effect any substantial change in the position of the central authority, the emperor. Such reform as was carried out limited itself to the establishment of the greater internal security of the realm. The right of private warfare, the most insufferable survival of feudal times, was abolished, a perpetual peace proclaimed, and to support this peace there was instituted a special court of justice, the Imperial Chamber (Reichskammergericht), to which all conflicts between the estates of the realm had to be referred for amicable adjustment. This is the largest measure of reform which the local governments in control of the Diet would, out of jealousy of the central government, concede. The emperor was left as before without an income, without any administrative functions, and without an army. He was and remained, as long as the Holy Roman Empire continued to exist, a poor lay-figure, draped for merely scenic purposes in the mantle of royalty. If we hear of powerful emperors in the future (Charles V., for instance), we shall discover that they owed their power, never to the empire, but always to the force which they derived from their hereditary lands.

Maximilian, sometimes called the last knight, was a kind, generous man, who might have been spared the various mis-

¹ There were at this time about three hundred of these local governments, some, like Saxony and Brandenburg, large enough to be respectable, others as circumscribed as an American township. Germany was visibly verging toward a time when she would be decomposed, in fact and in law, into three hundred independent states.

fortunes of his life if he had not taken the empire and its threadbare splendours seriously. He tried to make good the ancient imperial claims to part of Italy, and naturally met with derision; he tried to unite Europe against the Turks, who had overrun the east (fall of Constantinople, 1453) and were moving westward up the Danube and along the Mediterranean, but he could not even influence his own Germans to a national war of defence. However, a number of matrimonial bargains richly compensated Maximilian for his many political disappointments. In the year 1477 he married Mary of Burgundy, the only child of Charles the Bold and the heiress of the Netherlands, and in 1496 his son Philip was united to Joan of Castile, heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, first joint rulers of United Spain. Philip dying and Joan becoming insane, their son Charles was proclaimed, first, duke of Burgundy, and, later, on the death of Ferdinand (1516), king of Spain. Finally, when the emperor Maximilian died (1519), Charles fell heir also to Austria, and soon after was elected, in consequence of his great position, to succeed his grandfather in the empire. Thus Charles V. became, chiefly owing to the politic matches of Maximilian, the greatest monarch of his day.

*The
Hapsburg
marriages.
Charles V.,
the greatest
monarch of
Europe.*

Italy

Italy, at the end of the Middle Age, had fallen into even worse confusion than Germany, for the very semblance of national unity had been abandoned. There were upon the peninsula five leading states: the duchy of Milan, the republic of Venice, the republic of Florence, the states of the Church, and the kingdom of Naples. During the fifteenth century the five leading states had been constantly engaged in wars among themselves. These wars did no great harm until it occurred to the kings of Spain and France to turn the local divisions of Italy to their personal advantage. Spain, at the end of the fifteenth century, already possessed the islands of Sardinia and Sicily,

*The five
leading
states.*

and its royal House was closely related to the ruling House of Naples. Through these connections Spain acquired an active interest in Italian affairs. France also became interested in Italian affairs, when upon the death of the last male representative of the House of Anjou (1481),¹ such rights as the House of Anjou possessed to Naples were transferred to the king of France. Charles VIII. of France resolved on his accession to make good his claims upon Naples by force, and in 1494 he made his famous invasion of Italy. Spain being, of course, unable to permit without opposition the extension of France, there began in consequence that contest between the two rivals for the possession of Italy which lasted for over fifty years and ended in the complete victory of Spain. At the beginning of our period this result was not yet apparent. But within a few years after the outbreak of the French-Spanish wars, the states of Italy, overrun and plundered by superior forces, commenced to exhibit material alterations in their political status.

Naples.—If Naples, as it was the first, had remained the only source of quarrel between France and Spain, peace might soon have been re-established. For after having been traversed again and again by French and Spanish troops, the kingdom of Naples was definitely ceded by France to Spain (1504), of which it was destined to remain a part for two hundred years (till the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713). Unfortunately, a second bone of contention between the two great western monarchies was found in the duchy of Milan.

Milan.—The duchy of Milan was legally a fief of the Holy Roman Empire, but was held at this time in practically independent possession by the family of the Sforza. When Charles VIII. of France died in 1498, Louis XII., his successor, remembered that he was a descendant of a family, the Visconti, who had ruled in Milan before the Sforza. On the strength of this vague priority, Louis resolved

¹ The House of Anjou was connected with the royal House of France, and had an old claim to the kingdom of Naples.

to supplant the Sforza upstart. Having invaded and conquered Milan in 1499, he held that city successfully until there was formed against him the Holy League, composed of the pope, Venice, Spain, and England (1512). The Holy League quickly succeeded in driving the French out of Italy and in reinstating the Sforza family in their duchy. Louis XII. died in 1515, without having reconquered Milan, but his successor, Francis I., immediately upon his accession, marched his army off to Italy to try in his turn the fortunes of war and conquest. His brilliant victory of Marignano (1515) again put the French in possession of Milan. For a short time now there was peace between France and Spain; but naturally the Spaniards saw with envy the extension of French influence over the north of Italy, and when Charles, king of Spain, was elected emperor in 1519, the necessary pretext for renewing the war with France was given into his hands. It has already been said that Milan was legally a fief of the empire. In his capacity of emperor, Charles could find a ready justification for interfering in the affairs of his dependency. Immediately upon his election he resolved to challenge the right of the French to Milan, and so the French-Spanish wars in Italy were renewed.

Venice.—In the fifteenth century Venice was the strongest of all the Italian states. She called herself a republic, but was more truly an oligarchy, the power lying in the hands of the nobles who composed the Great Council and elected the chief dignitary, the doge or duke. The power of Venice was due to her immense trade and possessions in the Orient.¹ In addition to these colonial territories she held the whole north-eastern portion of Italy. The Renaissance is the period of the glory of Venice; at the beginning of the Modern Period that glory was already rapidly waning. The first obstacle to the continued prosperity of Venice was the Turks. The Turks, having

¹ She held the Morea, Candia, Cyprus, and most of the islands of the Ægean and Ionian Seas.

begun their irresistible march through western Asia and eastern Europe, unsparingly wrenched from Venice, bit by bit, her oriental trade and possessions. The second misfortune which befell Venice was the discovery, by Vasco da Gama, of the sea passage to India around the Cape of Good Hope. This discovery, by drawing off the oriental commerce to Spain and Portugal, struck a fatal blow at Venetian prosperity. Thus decline set in, but nevertheless the republic continued to live in some fashion or other till Napoleon made an end of it in the year 1797.

Florence.—The Republic of Florence, far-famed in the period of the Renaissance for its great artists and writers, had, in the fifteenth century, lost its free constitution, and fallen under the domination of a native family, the Medici (Lorenzo the Magnificent, the greatest of the line, ruled from 1469 to 1492). But in spite of the Medici the love for the republic remained enshrined in the hearts of the people. When, therefore, the invasion of Charles VIII. (1494) offered a chance to cast off the Medicean yoke, the people rose, banished their tyrants, and re-established the republic. Girolamo Savonarola, a pious monk, who had, through his stirring invectives against the general corruption of manners, acquired a great following, became the popular hero and leader, and for four years controlled the government, and laboured at the reform of morals. During the period of Savonarola's supremacy, Florence presented to her astonished contemporaries, who dwelt upon the free heights of the pagan Renaissance, the picture of a narrow Biblical theocracy. But in 1498 Savonarola's enemies compassed his overthrow and burned him at the stake. For a few more years the republic went on as best it could, until in 1512 the Medici reconquered the city. In 1527 the Florentines made a last attempt to regain their liberties. Again they cast the Medici out, but again the banished princes returned, this time with the help of Charles V. (1529), who now honoured the head of the Medicean House, Alexander, by conferring upon him and his

heirs Florence and her territory under the name of the duchy (later the grand duchy) of Tuscany.

The States of the Church.—During the period of the Renaissance, the popes, becoming pagan like the rest of the world, sacrificed every principle to the desire of being brilliant secular princes. Their dominant aspiration was to consolidate the territory of the Church. This territory, running across the middle of the peninsula, formed an extensive possession, but had fallen in large part into the hands of petty tyrants. Pope Alexander VI. (1492–1503), of the family of Borgia, infamous for his murders and excesses, has the merit of having carried the papal policy to a successful issue. Through the unscrupulous agency of his son Cæsar Borgia, the petty tyrants of the papal states were either poisoned or assassinated. Thus at last the pope became master in the hereditary dominion of St Peter.

*The States
of the
Church ac-
quire soli-
darity.*

Alexander VI. was followed by two popes, who, if they are not great spiritual lights, have nevertheless interesting personalities. They are Julius II. (1503–13) and Leo X. (1513–21), the latter a member of the famous Florentine family of the Medici. Both of these popes will always be remembered for their splendid patronage of the arts.¹ It was during the papacy of Leo X., whose interests were literary, artistic, social, in short everything but religious, and whose nature and associations inclined him to a pagan conception of life, that there was raised in Germany the cry for reform which led to the Protestant schism.

Savoy.—In north-western Italy, on the border of France, lay among the Alps the duchy of Savoy. At the beginning of the Modern Period the duke of Savoy was not yet an influential power. But during the next centuries he grew stronger and stronger through perseverance and hardihood, until finally his power surpassed that of any other prince of Italy. In our own century the House of Savoy has become the royal house of united Italy.

¹ Church of St Peter begun; Michel Angelo and Raffaele at Rome.

France

Under Charles VII. (1422-61) and Louis XI. (1461-83) France had lost her old feudal character and become an absolute monarchy. The great dukes and counts had been forced into submission to the will of the king. The king had become master; he had secured himself a revenue over which he had free disposal (through a land-tax called *taille*), and he had created a standing army, which was at his and not at the nobles' orders. Louis XI. also added to France several outlying provinces, which were necessary to the completion of the nation. These were Provence in the south-east and the duchy of Burgundy in the east. When his son Charles VIII. (1483-98) acquired Brittany in the north-west, the process of the unification of France may be said to have been completed. Being now united within under the constitution of the absolute king, she was also strong to act against external foes. Under these circumstances Charles VIII. could afford to turn his thoughts to foreign conquest, and, burning with ambition, undertook to conquer Naples on the strength of certain inherited claims, and invaded Italy (1494). But his policy of foreign conquest incited the hostility of his jealous neighbour Spain, and led to the great French-Spanish wars for the possession of Italy, which lasted, with occasional interruptions, for fifty years. The review of Italy has acquainted us with the early stages of this conflict. Charles VIII., after a brief triumph, was forced to give up Naples. Finally it was ceded to Ferdinand of Spain (1504). Louis XII. of France (1498-1515) renewed the struggle in Italy by laying hold of the duchy of Milan, and though he was forced to give up Milan in 1512 (the Holy League), his successor, Francis I. (1515-47), immediately re-conquered it by the victory of Marignano (1515).

Spain

The movement toward national unity and absolutism, just observed in France, is no less characteristic of the political development, during the fifteenth century, of Spain. The unity of Spain, after having made steady progress for some centuries, was finally secured by the marriage of Ferdinand (1479-1516) and Isabella (1474-1504), who were the heirs respectively of the two largest Christian kingdoms on the peninsula, Aragon and Castile. Both of these kingdoms had grown strong by championing the national cause against the Moors, who had, in the Middle Age, overrun the peninsula. In the year 1492, Granada, the last foothold of the Moors, was captured, and therewith the Mohammedan power in Spain, which had lasted for eight centuries, came to an end. *The unification of Spain.*

The unification of Spain inaugurated a period of territorial expansion which is unparalleled in history. In the same year in which the Moorish kingdom fell, Columbus discovered America, and opened up to Spain the vast dominion of the new world. Next Ferdinand, upon being drawn into war with France on account of the conquest of Naples by Charles VIII., succeeded in beating the French and seizing the kingdom of Naples for himself (1504). In 1512 he further acquired that part of the border-kingdom of Navarre which lay upon the Spanish slope of the Pyrenees. Thus it happened that when Ferdinand was succeeded upon his death by his grandson, Charles (1516-56), this young king found himself master of the most extensive territories of the world. Although Charles was, merely by virtue of his position as king of Spain, the leading sovereign of Europe, he had additional interests and resources as ruler of the Netherlands and archduke of Austria, which raised him far above any rival. Finally, in 1519, the electors of the empire made him emperor. *The expansion of Spain.*

The growth of the royal power had meanwhile kept pace with the extension of Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella, with the aid of the cities, put down the robber knights, and thus secured the peace of the land. Then the monarchs turned their attention to the nobility. The feudal Parliament of Castile (called Cortes) was first restricted in its influence, and then robbed of all importance. The Parliament of Aragon held out a little longer against the royal encroachments. But the act which more than any other registered the extension of the central power was the introduction of the Inquisition for the persecution of heretics and of enemies of the government—that is, of Jews, Moors, and, later, Protestants. How severely this organisation interpreted its task is witnessed by the fact that during the reign of the first Grand Inquisitor, Thomas de Torquemada (1483-98), about 10,000 persons were burned alive, 6,000 burned in effigy, and 90,000 condemned to ecclesiastical and civil penalties.

England

England passed in the fifteenth century through the great domestic crisis known as the War of the Roses. But the end came in 1485, when Richard III., the last king of the house of York, was defeated and killed at the battle of Bosworth. The victor, himself of the House of Tudor, but at the same time a descendant of the House of Lancaster, succeeded to the throne as Henry VII. (1485-1509). Through the marriage of Henry VII. to Elizabeth, a daughter of the House of York, the new House of Tudor united the claims of both contending houses, and thus the civil war came at length to an end.

Under Henry VII., an extremely cautious and politic man, there grew up in England the "strong Tudor monarchy." Traditionally, the power in England lay in the hands of the king and the Parliament, composed of the two Houses of the Lords and the Commons. However, absolutism was in the air at the time, as

is witnessed by the cases of France and Spain. By following a consistent policy, Henry succeeded in making the English monarchy, too, almost absolute. He did this, first, by lessening the authority of the turbulent nobility. He forbade them to keep armed and liveried retainers, thus depriving them of their military power, and by means of the Star Chamber court of justice, dependent on himself, he kept watch over them and punished them for all infringements of the public law. Secondly, by raising money irregularly through fines and forced loans, he became independent of the regular taxes which the Parliament alone could vote, and thus was enabled to get along, to a large extent, without calling the Parliament together. Of Henry's various measures the result was the pacification of the realm. England would now have fallen as completely into the hands of her sovereign as France had done, if it had not been for that saving law upon her statute-books that the king could raise no taxes without the consent of Parliament. This provision neither Henry VII. nor any of his successors dared abrogate, and in the course of time, when the common people had acquired wealth and dignity, it became the weapon by which the "strong monarchy" was struck to the ground and Parliament set in the monarch's place.

SECTION I

THE REFORMATION AND THE WARS OF RELIGION; FROM LUTHER TO THE PEACE OF WEST- PHALIA (1517-1648)

THE reason for setting off the century and a half which lie between Luther and the Peace of Westphalia as a separate section of Modern History, lies partly in convenience—as is the case with all historical divisions—and partly in the fact that this section has an unmistakable unity. This unity is furnished by the circumstance that throughout its length there remains fixed in the foreground of public interest the question of the Reformation. A new faith is born, it attempts to secure for itself legal recognition from the various governments, and the various governments are all perplexed with the problem how to adjust themselves to the novel creation. Anger and irritation are followed by wars, and, after much bloodshed, the worst sting is taken out of the rivalry of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism by the, at least, partial adoption in the Peace of Westphalia of the principle of mutual toleration.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY TO THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG (1555)

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THE rising protest against the Roman Church has been discussed in the chapter on the Renaissance. To summarize once more what was there said, the hostility to the Church was due to the excessive taxes, powers, and privileges of the Church, to the corrupt manners and practices of the clergy, and to the larger and more intelligent views of life which were made popular among the cultivated classes by the Renaissance and the Revival of Learning.

*The rising
protest
against the
Church.*

The movement of the Renaissance we discovered to have originated in Italy. From Italy it spread to the north, but took there an altogether different form, for whereas in Italy it led to an unparalleled artistic activity coupled with a frightful relaxation of manners, it induced among the more serious-minded and less impressionable peoples of the north a desire above all

*The Re-
naissance
in the south
and in the
north.*

for moral reform. Hence we have the sharp contrast of Italy adorning herself at this time with glorious palaces and churches filled with statues and paintings, and of the north slowly recovering the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew sources of Christianity, and spreading the enthusiasm for a purer faith. Among the northern scholars and humanists thus engaged, those of Germany took a conspicuous place, and among them the most notable were Reuchlin, Ulrich von Hutten, and Erasmus. These men prepared the ground for the reception of the seed of the Reformation. A few words concerning them will show us the direction of their efforts.

John Reuchlin (1455-1522) was purely a scholar whose most important work was a Hebrew grammar. However, he aroused the displeasure of the religious fanatics and was violently attacked by them. The friends of learning, among whom was Hutten, rallying to his support, aimed a series of telling shafts at monks, schoolmen, and the banded powers of superstition in the so-called *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum* (Letters of obscure men), and succeeded in this way in creating a large body of opinion hostile to all abuses in the Roman Church. To this end

Desiderius Erasmus (1467-1536) also contributed. He was a native of Rotterdam, and, because of his universal influence, has received the name of the Prince of Humanists. Like Reuchlin he was a scholar, his chief scholarly contribution being a critical edition in Greek and Latin of the New Testament (1516), by virtue of which he ranks as the father of modern Biblical criticism; but, unlike Reuchlin, he was also a powerful man of letters, and commanding a skilful pen, he held up to scorn in such writings as the "Praise of Folly" (1511) the shortcomings of his age and of the Church.

Erasmus and his allies were students and not warriors. They wished to raise the culture of the day by spreading education, and they desired to reform the Church and make that institution wide and tolerant enough to embrace all forms of honest Christian belief. When therefore the next generation of scholars,

The early humanists reformers, not revolutionists.

more aggressive than themselves, proposed separation from the Roman Catholic Church, the older humanists were in general horrified, and refused to lend a hand to carry out so radical a measure.

Thus the humanists helped to prepare the minds for the division of the Christian Church which we call the Reformation, but did not make it. The direct agent was *Martin Luther*. Martin Luther was born 10th November 1483, in Thuringia. He was of peasant ancestry, and peasant sturdiness and simplicity, with much of peasant obstinacy and superstition, remained characteristic of him to the end of his days. His parents managed to send young Martin to the University, but instead of becoming a lawyer, as they wished, he followed his natural bent, and in 1505 joined the Augustine Order of Friars. He occupied himself very solemnly with the problems of salvation, and in 1510 undertook a journey to Rome, where he saw face to face the corruption of the papacy. On his return he applied himself more earnestly than ever to the study of St Augustine and the mystics, and gradually became convinced that salvation was a matter not of externals, masses, beads, and pilgrimages, but solely of deep and triumphant faith. Meanwhile Luther had accepted a professorship in the University of Wittenberg, the capital of Saxony, and these questions were working in his heart and mind when the great event occurred which brought him into public notice.

In 1517 the Dominican, John Tetzel, hawked through Germany letters of indulgence.¹ Indulgences owed their origin to the teaching of the Church that an act of sin in order to be forgiven involved (1) con-
 trition and (2) substantial punishment. The
 contrition always remained a pre-requisite, but it
 was soon decided that the substantial punishment could be remitted in return for a gift of money to the Church for some holy purpose. The letter in which the remission was certified was called an indulgence. Although indulgences were thus

*Indul-
gences:
doctrine and
practice.*

¹ Consult Lea, *Hist. of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*.

at first entirely honourable, the temptation always existed on the part of the popes to use them as a means of income, and there can be no doubt that the popes of the Renaissance employed them most unscrupulously in this way, permitting agents to dispose of them at a sliding scale of prices suited to every kind of sin.

As might have been foreseen, Tetzels traffic aroused much indignation. Luther's distinction is that he had the *The ninety-five theses.* courage to bring the matter before the public. On 31st October 1517, he affixed to the church door at Wittenberg a document enumerating ninety-five theses or arguments against indulgences. Loud applause rang through the land, but the supporters of rigid Romanism were not slow to meet the challenge. A fierce controversy ensued, and out of the contention arose gradually the Protestant Church.

At the time when Luther published his ninety-five theses, he was still a good son of the Church. But the opposition which he encountered in the next few years obliged *How Luther's protest led to a schism.* him to submit the whole system of the Catholic Church to an investigation, and soon he discovered that there was much else in Roman doctrine besides indulgences which he could not accept. Above all, he grew suspicious of the authority of the pope which his opponents were always invoking. Against it, he put up the authority of the Bible, and, in 1520, in a pamphlet called "The Babylonish Captivity," he went so far as to renounce the pope and call him a usurper. At this point the patience of pope Leo X., who had been attempting to have the trouble in Germany smoothed over, became exhausted. He published a bull of excommunication against Luther, but Luther, now thoroughly fired with the sense of his mission, scornfully burned it amidst the rejoicings of his followers (1520). Luther could claim that reform had been proposed and rejected, and that nothing was left but revolution.

Luther, stigmatized as a heretic by the pope, was now in

danger of his life if the civil authorities followed up the pope's bull. In order to look into the case, the youthful Charles V., who had been elected to the imperial office in 1519, summoned Luther to his presence at Worms on the Rhine, where a Diet had assembled to discuss the affairs of the realm. To reassure him and that element of the German people which had become passionately attached to him, the emperor issued a formal promise that Brother Martin might come and go undisturbed. Nevertheless, his friends supplicated him not to go, reminding him of the fate of Huss at Constance. "I would go even if there were as many devils as there are tiles on the house-roofs," he is said to have answered fearlessly. On 17th April 1521, he appeared before the Diet.

*Luther
summoned
before the
emperor.*

The scene is one of the impressive spectacles of history. The poor monk stood for the first time in his life before a brilliant concourse of princes and bishops, who for the most part regarded him with suspicion and aversion. He was ordered to recant, and he agreed, provided it could be proved by arguments from the Bible that he was wrong. "Here I stand," he ended, "I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen." The nation applauded, but his friends were concerned for his safety, and the elector of Saxony, his kind master, taking possession of his person, conveyed him secretly to the Wartburg Castle.

*Luther at
Worms,
1521.*

While Luther was thus secured against his enemies, the emperor at Worms came to a decision. Charles was an inexperienced youth, just twenty-one years of age, but he was endowed with political ambition and capacity, and felt instinctively that Luther, if allowed to go on, would cause a schism in Germany which would still further weaken the already weak position of the emperor. Moreover, Charles was a good son of the Church, and, though favourable to a reform, would not hear of effecting it against the will of the ecclesiastical authorities. Finally, he was about to begin a war against Francis I. of France for the possession of Milan, and for this enterprise he argued that he should

need the alliance of the pope. For all these reasons Charles published, on 26th May 1521, a decree of outlawry, called *The Edict of Worms*, against Luther, by which the heretic's life was declared forfeit and his writings forbidden. Having thus settled, as he thought, the German difficulties, Charles set out for Italy to begin the war against France.

But the movement of the Reformation had already acquired too great a momentum to be stopped by an imperial order. If Charles could have remained in Germany to see personally to the execution of his decree against Luther, or if the real power in Germany had not lain with the princes, who, from the nature of the case, were divided in their sympathy, the history of the Reformation might have been different. As it was, however, Charles had interests in Spain, America, Italy, and the

Netherlands, which often engaged him wholly, and the princes, if Romanist, half-heartedly received, and if Protestant, solemnly rejected, the Edict of Worms. Under these conditions the Reformation was for some time left to itself, and that proved its salvation.

The Protestant opinions of Luther and his followers made a rapid conquest of Germany. Monasteries were dissolved, and priests and bishops, abjuring their allegiance to Rome, instituted in the place of the Latin Mass a simpler worship which they conducted in the national idiom. With such ferment of opinion possessing the whole country, it is not un-

natural that wild agitators occasionally caught the ear of the masses. In fact, the Reformation was not many months old before its welfare was threatened more by its own extreme elements than by its

opponents. Nobody saw this more clearly than Luther. He was resolved that the movement should travel a sure road and at a moderate pace, and that whoever should venture to compromise it by extravagances and illusions, or whoever should attempt to use it for ends other than those of the religious reform with which it had originated, must be abruptly excluded from his party. These certainly not unwise considerations explain Luther's attitude toward the revolutions of the next eventful years.

While Luther was still in concealment at the Wartburg, Protestant fanatics began to preach the breaking of images and other acts of religious violence. Hearing of this, Luther abruptly abandoned his retreat, rallied his followers about himself on his own moderate platform, and drove the fanatics out of Saxony (1522). *Radical upheavals.*

The next year (1523) the ferment possessing Germany caused an outbreak among the knights of the Rhine country, and shortly after followed a great rising among the peasants of south-eastern and central Germany. This rising was due primarily to social causes, but the religious agitation of the time supplied the immediate pretext. The social origin of the Peasants' War is proved by the numerous peasant insurrections of the previous century, and by the fact that, like all the earlier movements, it had for its main object the amelioration of the condition of the peasant, who was a mere serf, subject in person and property to the will and whim of his master. These poor people thought they heard in the Reformation the announcement of the brotherhood of man, and so they rose to get a few simple human rights.¹ But led by fanatics, they soon indulged in excesses, butchered their lords, and created an insufferable anarchy. The imperial authority being as usual too weak to deal with the insurrection, the local authorities—that is, the princes—got together an army and scattered the disorderly bands of peasants to the winds. Hounded on by Luther in coarse pamphlets, the victors rioted in massacre, slaying many thousands of the poor insurgents. *The rising of the peasants, 1524-25.*

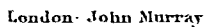
Luther's attitude toward the peasants has been much criticised. Certainly no excuse can be offered for his brutal language, but his excited championship of the authorities is at least intelligible, when we reflect that he knew that the success of the movement which he had at heart depended on its being orderly and moderate and free from all entanglement with violence. *Luther's questionable attitude.*

¹ The leading demands formulated in Twelve Articles were : abolition of serfdom, just rents, destruction of game preserves.

While these things were going on in Germany, Charles V. was wholly engaged with the war against France. In fact, the wars with France continued, in spite of periodical conclusions of peace, throughout his reign, and prevented him from ever giving his full attention to the German Reformation. It will be sufficient for our purpose if we take note of two or three crises in the long conflict. In 1525, the army of Charles defeated the French at Pavia in so signal a manner that the king of France himself, Francis I., was captured. The prisoner was transferred to Madrid, and there Charles wrung a peace from him on terms so severe that Francis on his release immediately broke it. He now managed to strengthen himself by drawing the pope and Henry VIII. of England over to his side, but a new war availed him little. In 1527, the troops of Charles, composed of Spaniards and German Lutherans, horribly sacked Rome, and shortly after the pope and Francis I. were obliged to come to terms with the emperor. By the Peace of Cambray (1529) Francis yielded Milan and the suzerainty of Artois and Flanders in the Netherlands to his rival, and in the next year the pope formally crowned Charles emperor at Bologna.

Charles, temporarily rid of France, was now resolved to look once more into German affairs. In 1530, after an absence of almost ten years, he again turned his face northward. The Reformation was by this time an accomplished fact, but Charles, who during his absence had received his information from Roman partisans and through hearsay, still inclined, as at Worms, to treat it as a trifle. He was destined to be rudely awakened. A Diet had been called to meet him at the city of Augsburg, and at the summons a brilliant assembly of both Lutheran and Romish princes came together. Charles at first made a show of acting as umpire, and invited the Lutherans to present their case. They did this in the document known as the Confession

Hereditary States of Charles V ☐
Boundary of the Empire ☐



of Augsburg, which straightway won such favour among Protestant¹ contemporaries that it became and has since remained the creed of the Lutheran Church. But in the end Charles sided with the Roman Catholic majority of the Diet, and signified his intention to execute at length the Edict of Worms against Luther, and to punish every one who had introduced religious innovations. Rather than suffer this, the Protestants resolved to appeal to force, and united themselves in a great defensive league, called, from the place of meeting, the League of Schmalkalde (1531).

Thus the schism in the Church threatened a schism in the state of civil war. But for the present the struggle was postponed, owing to the fact that Charles still hoped to be able to arrive at an amicable settlement, and to the further circumstance that he had his hands full with other affairs. Immediate attention had to be given to the Turks. They were pushing up the Danube and threatening Vienna, and in order to be able to meet them Charles felt obliged to court the Protestants. Finally, he promised to suspend all action against them for the present, and was rewarded by their hearty assistance in his campaign against the Turks (1532). But these enemies had

*Pressure of
circum-
stances
hinders
Charles
from em-
ploying
force
against the
Protestants.*

hardly been repelled when the emperor found that he would have to give attention to the Mohammedan pirates of north Africa, who were destroying the commerce of the Mediterranean and plundering the coasts of Italy and Spain. And hardly had these pirates been punished when Francis I. of France again began to stir. Charles's mind often travelled back to Germany, and he saw with horror the progress of the Protestant opinions, but what could he do? The French, the Turks, the African pirates were successively demanding all his time, and intercepted his arm every time he made preparations to draw his sword against the Protestant revolution.

¹ The party name of Protestants began to be applied to the Lutherans at this time. It had its origin in the *protest* published by the Lutherans, in 1529, against the execution of the Edict of Worms.

Owing to these affairs, it was not till 1545 that Charles again gave his undivided attention to the German Reformation, and this time he had good hopes of arriving at a definite settlement. He had just (Peace of Crespì, 1544) concluded another war with Francis, in which the French king was no more successful than in any of the earlier ventures; further the emperor was at peace with the Turkish Sultan, Solyman; and at that moment he enjoyed, finally, the good will of the pope. The pope, in fact, had gone so far as to call together *The Council of Trent* at Trent a General Council of the Church (1545), which the emperor had long urged, and which he regarded as a sure remedy for the Protestant schism. To this authoritative body the Protestants were to send delegates; these were to plead the Protestant cause; and the whole Protestant party was expected to bow to the verdict which the Council would then render. When, therefore, the Council had assembled, the Emperor notified the Protestants; but they, suspicious of the composition of the meeting, refused to take the proffered hand. In 1546, assured that further negotiations were futile, Charles appealed to force. As the Protestants, united in the League of Schmalkalde, would not yield, Germany was now afflicted with her first civil war over the question of the Reformation.

Just before hostilities began Luther died (1546), and was thus spared the pain of seeing his countrymen in arms against each other because of a movement of which he had been the creator. His life throughout was brave and simple, and if it is stained with outbursts of coarseness and vulgarity, it is the part of generosity to ascribe them to the position of weight and responsibility to which circumstances suddenly raised him who had but the training of a monk and a recluse.

The first war of religion in Germany was for awhile very advantageous to the emperor. The Protestant princes did not stand together, and at the only serious battle of the war,

the battle of Mühlberg (1547), Charles took the leading Protestant prince, the elector of Saxony, prisoner. The victory of Charles was in no small measure due to the fact that Maurice of Saxony, a relative of the elector's, went over to the Roman Catholic side. He got as reward his relative's electorate, but, the price once paid, he began to edge over again toward his fellow-Protestants, and with characteristic selfishness prepared to betray his benefactor.

*The first
war of
religion,
1546-47.*

Charles, after his victory, bethought himself of his old remedy—a conference of the factions in a General Council, but his plan once more suffered shipwreck upon the ill-will of the pope and the suspicions of the Protestants. Try as he would, there was nothing left for him to do but to *dictate* a religious peace.

*The
reaction
against
Charles.*

This he did in an arrangement called the *Interim*, which, although Roman in spirit, made the Protestants a few temporary concessions. But the *Interim* rapidly grew distasteful to the Protestants, the foreign rule maintained by Charles's Spanish soldiery was hateful to all alike, and, when Maurice of Saxony went over to his co-religionists, Germany suddenly rose, and the emperor found himself helpless before the united demonstration (1552). He had to flee precipitately across the Alps, and now at last, racked with gout and prematurely old, he gave up his life-long war against the Lutheran heresy. His brother, Ferdinand, signed a preliminary peace with the Protestants at Passau, and at the Diet of Augsburg, in the year 1555, a final peace, known as the religious peace of Augsburg, was ratified by the estates.

*Charles
gives up the
fight.*

In the Peace of Augsburg the Lutheran Church received legal recognition. It was determined that every estate of the Diet—that is, every prince or imperial city—should have the right to accept or reject the Lutheran faith. Tolerance was to be granted to the rulers in accordance with the principle, *cujus regio, ejus religio* (he who rules a country may settle its religion), but there was not

*The Peace
of Augs-
burg, 1555.*

granted an individual and general tolerance, and every subject could be obliged to accept the religion adopted by the state. A great deal of trouble was caused in the negotiations by the question of the numerous territorial bishoprics which existed in Germany. The Protestants desired that the territorial bishops should be given the same right of choice between Protestantism and Romanism that every prince pos-

The Ecclesiastical Reservation.

sessed, but their opponents objected. Finally, it was decided in an article, called the Ecclesiastical Reservation, that a bishop might become a Protestant personally, but that he would then have

to relinquish his place. This article, which was altogether in the Roman Catholic interest, soon caused much confusion, for it was found in practice that it could not be kept. Many bishoprics, especially in the north, fell into Protestant hands, and the quarrels resulting from this breach of the Peace of Augsburg contributed toward keeping up the religious agitation in Germany, and led in the end to a second religious war.

The victory of the Protestants over the emperor was not purchased without a heavy loss for Germany. Maurice of

Alliance of the Protestants with France.

Saxony had found it necessary, in order to make sure of victory, to ally himself with Henry II. of France, and in the same year (1552) in which Maurice drove the emperor over the Alps, Henry II.

invaded Germany and occupied the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, from which it was found impossible to dislodge him.

The emperor was broken in spirit by these last disasters. He abdicated his crown (1556), and retired to the monastery

Resignation and death of Charles. of San Yuste, in Spain, where he died two years later. Upon his abdication the vast Hapsburg

possessions, which he had held in his sole hand, were divided. His son Philip got Spain (with her colonies), the Italian territory (Naples and Milan), and the Netherlands. His brother, Ferdinand, got the Austrian lands, and therewith the imperial crown. Henceforth until the extinction of the Spanish line (1700) we have in Europe two Hapsburg Houses, a Spanish and an Austrian branch.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

LITERATURE.—Johnson (as before).

Fisher (as before). • Chapters VI., VII., XI.

Ranke, *History of the Popes*.

Alzog, *Church History*.

Ward, *The Counter Reformation*.

Köstlin, *Luther*.

Häusser, *Reformation*.

THE Protestant Reformation spread rapidly from Germany over the Teutonic north, and made inroads even upon the Latin countries—France, Italy, and Spain. In the Scandinavian north it won an early and complete triumph. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the three Scandinavian powers, had been united under one king since the Union of Calmar (1397). But at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Union fell apart, for Sweden revolted and established her independence under the native house of Vasa. Denmark and Norway, on the other hand, remained united, under a Danish king, down to the time of Napoleon. The political confusion that was occasioned in Scandinavia by the struggle of Sweden for independence favoured the religious innovations, and within twenty years after Luther's proclamation against indulgences (1517) the Lutheran Church had become the sole and state Church of all the Scandinavian countries. The north produced no great reformer of its own, and therefore accepted the Church of its nearest neighbour, Germany.

The case was different in Switzerland. Switzerland consisted, in the sixteenth century, of many little cantons, all technically a part of the empire, but practically constituting independent republics, bound together in a very loose federation. In 1518, Ulrich Zwingli, a priest of the canton of Glarus, made an energetic protest against the doctrine of indulgences. By transferring his activity to Zurich, the intellectual centre of the country, he soon gathered around himself a powerful party of reform. His success in Switzerland was as immediate and signal as that of Luther in Germany.

Zwingli always maintained that he had arrived at his reform doctrines in complete independence of Luther, and there is every reason to believe that this assertion is true. It simply goes to prove that there was in Europe a general trend of opinion toward reform. After an attempt at a union between himself and Luther had failed, chiefly because of some doctrinal differences, Zwingli established his own Reformed Church in Switzerland. All the Swiss cantons, however, were not won to the new faith. The simple and uneducated foresters and mountaineers of the upper Alps (inhabitants of the so-called Forest Cantons) remained staunchly Roman Catholic. Only the cantons on the Swiss border, which were under the influence of the two progressive cities, Zurich and Berne, accepted Zwingli's teaching. In the war between the two faiths which followed (1531), the Roman Catholic cantons won the decisive victory of Cappel, and as Zwingli himself fell on this occasion, the Romanists might have driven a hard bargain. Nevertheless they concluded peace with the Protestants on the same basis as the Roman Catholics and Protestants of Germany did a few years later at Augsburg: each local government or canton was allowed to accept or reject the Reformed faith as it pleased. In consequence of this settlement, Switzerland, like Germany, is partly Roman and partly Protestant to this day.

A little after these events in the eastern or German part of Switzerland there arose in the western or French part another

great Protestant leader, whose influence was destined to become more wide than that of Luther himself. This leader was John Calvin, and the city which he made famous as the great hearth of the new Protestant worship was Geneva.

The Reformation in Geneva.

It was a stroke of chance that brought John Calvin to Geneva. Originally a Frenchman—he was born in 1507, in Picardy—he had studied law, and during his student days had imbibed the current Protestant doctrines. Having become an enthusiastic advocate of the new faith, he had to leave France, and spent his exile in deep study in Germany and Switzerland. His life thus far had been that of a student, and in 1536 he crowned his reputation in this line by publishing a theological treatise, the “Institutes of the Christian Religion,” which was immediately accepted as the best defence of Protestantism then in existence. Shortly after this work appeared, he undertook a journey to France, which brought him for a night’s rest to Geneva.

The early life of Calvin.

That night was the turning point of his career. Geneva, a self-governing community, had lately declared for Protestantism, but Protestantism was by no means yet firmly established. Naturally the preachers of Geneva called upon their celebrated guest, and after a long debate prevailed upon him to stay and labour in God’s vineyard. Thus he who had hitherto been a student elected to become an active worker. That he was successful in the new province is proved by the fact that with the exception of a short exile he dominated the city politically and ecclesiastically until his death (1536–1564).

Calvin established at Geneva.

The leading conception of Calvin’s theology is the absolute supremacy of God’s will. God’s will determining everything, man’s action is proportionately insignificant, and his claim to save himself by either works or faith preposterous. Salvation is solely an act of God’s grace, and as an omniscient God must know the whole life of a man from the moment he is born, logic urged the belief that it is determined at a man’s birth whether

The rigorous theology of Calvin.

he is to be saved or not. This is the famous doctrine of predestination, which the modern world is inclined to reject as harsh and cruel. However, the mere conception of this idea conveys to us a sense of the uncompromising logic and stubborn enthusiasm which made Calvinism, wherever it appeared, an irresistible power.

The vigour of his theological conceptions Calvin enforced by his system of Church government. The Roman idea, that the government of the Church belongs solely to the clergy, he rejected utterly. As the Church belonged to all Christians, he urged that the ministers should be obliged to share the government with selected laymen, called elders or presbyters, and that in certain affairs the whole congregation should have a voice. This system, possessed of conspicuous democratic elements, is called the Presbyterian form of Church government.

*Calvin
father of the
Presbyter-
ian form of
Church gov-
ernment.*

Geneva became a city of refuge to all the distressed Protestants of France, England, Scotland, and the Netherlands. Calvin laboured for the spread of his doctrines in all these lands, and aided the exiles to return and work secretly as missionaries of the Reformed faith.

*The spread
of Calvin-
ism.*

In this way, and with the aid of other circumstances, he was able to replace the influence of Luther in all of the countries west of the Rhine, and even in parts of Germany itself, and to introduce into them his type of Protestantism. From the point of view of the success of the Reformation this was entirely well. For toward the middle of the century, the Roman Church was marshalling its forces for an attack upon its revolted subjects, and the grim and combative Calvinism was much better suited than the conservative Lutheranism to meet and rout the opposition.

We have seen that there had been raised in Europe, ever since the thirteenth century, loud cries for the reform of the church, but that the popes had remained deaf to the call. At length, toward the middle of the sixteenth century, frightened by the movement begun by Luther, the Church of Rome yielded to

*The Roman
Church
undertakes
a reform.*

the new spirit and instituted a series of reformatory measures.

This Counter-Reformation in the Roman Church must, in order to be rightly understood, be recognised as a real religious revival which, without affecting the doctrines or the system of government, brought about a great improvement in the life of the clergy.

*Change in
the character
of the
papacy.*

We have noticed that the popes of the Renaissance, concerned chiefly with their aggrandizement and pleasures, were stubbornly hostile to reform. This spirit continued to animate the papacy until the accession of Paul IV. (1555-59). Paul IV. was the first pope who perceived the precarious condition of the Church. He abandoned the splendid ways of his Renaissance predecessors, maintained a high personal standard, and devoted himself with zeal to ecclesiastical interests. Paul IV. gave the papacy a new moral energy which was handed on to his successors and affected the whole clergy down to the parish priest:

The Catholic revival was accompanied by a number of events and creations within the bosom of the Roman Church which should receive our attention. They were: 1, The Society of the Jesuits; 2, The Council of Trent; 3, The Inquisition.

The Order of the Jesuits or Regiment of Jesus was founded by Ignatius Loyola. Loyola was a Spanish nobleman, whose highest ideal was that of a soldier until, in consequence of a severe wound received in the service of the king, his master (1521), he chanced to read some "Lives of the Saints." These so fired his imagination that he became filled with the desire to emulate the Christian heroes. His first efforts were wildly romantic and fruitless. He eventually saw that his education was not sufficient, and at thirty-three years of age he began to study Latin, philosophy, and theology. While at school in Paris he made the acquaintance of some kindred spirits, and with them he founded his new society (1534), for the purpose, at first, of doing missionary work among the Mohammedans. Circumstances prevented the sailing of the enthusiasts for the East, whereupon they

*Ignatius
Loyola.*

resolved to go to Rome to offer their services to the pope and also to secure his sanction for their order. In 1540, after considerable hesitation, pope Paul III. confirmed the order and the rules which Loyola had composed for it.

Loyola fashioned his order after the manner of an army, the final authority over it being concentrated in the hands of a *Military discipline the basic principle of the Jesuits.* general. As with the army, the fundamental principle was discipline. Since the members of the order took a special vow of obedience to the pope, this ruler soon saw their usefulness, and by heaping the order with honours, rights, and privileges, quickly made it the most powerful one in Europe.

The Jesuits engaged in every kind of activity. They were famous preachers and confessors, and became especially expert in dealing with the individual conscience and in caring for souls. They carried on foreign mission work on a grand scale, planting their stations in all parts of the world. Realizing that youth is the most impressionable age, they fostered education. By their superior methods of instruction they attracted to their schools the best young men of the time, and instilled into them the doctrines of their faith. For more than a hundred years they led Europe in education. They devoted themselves also to politics, and became cunning diplomats and intriguers. Everywhere they made themselves felt, and it was due in great measure to their comprehensive and untiring efforts that Protestantism was destroyed in Italy, Spain, France, Poland, and in the dominions of the Hapsburgs, and that these lands remained attached to the Church of Rome. Even in the Protestant countries, Germany, England, and Scandinavia, the Jesuits were able to bring their Church into prominence again, and to put into jeopardy the existence of the Reformed Churches. Their work in the high places of the world was especially successful, and in the course of the seventeenth century Germany was startled by the news of the return of many a Protestant prince to the bosom of mother Church.

The Council of Trent (in session at intervals, 1545-63), rendered the Church of Rome the signal service of unifying her doctrines as they had never been unified *The Council before*. In the body of the tradition of the *of Trent*.

Roman Church there were many conflicting tendencies and records. These differences the Council of Trent removed, and then formulated the Roman Catholic creed anew, in sharp opposition to the doctrines set up by the Protestants. There were many Catholics present at this Council who were inclined to a compromise with the Protestants for the sake of making the Church one again, but the strict papal party, under the leadership of the Jesuits, was able to prevent the Council from making any concession. The acts of this Council now constitute a part of the creed of the Roman Catholic Church. Only a few important additions have since been made; such are, for instance, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, which was announced in the year 1854, and the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope, which was promulgated at the Council of the Vatican, in the year 1870.

The word Inquisition¹ describes an ecclesiastical court, established for the purpose of tracing and punishing heresy. The penalty, which the judges or inquisitors pronounced, was usually confiscation of property or death, and was executed by the civil authorities. *The ecclesiastical court called Inquisition.* The Inquisition was not an invention of the Counter-Reformation. In a mild form it existed throughout the Middle Age. Pope Innocent III. (1198-1216) first organized it effectively, and had himself the pleasure of seeing its complete success against the Albigenes. Naturally, the zealots of the Counter-Reformation began early to urge its employment against the heretical followers of Luther and Calvin. Owing, however, to the abhorrence with which the Inquisition, because of its terrible and vague prerogative, filled the people, and owing further to the jealousy of the governments, which dreaded the interference of an ecclesiastical

¹ Consult Lea, History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages. 3 vols.

court, this engine of repression was not everywhere admitted. A notable activity it exhibited only in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. In the last-named country it produced quite the opposite effect of that intended ; but in Italy and Spain it operated with such complete success that the Reformation no sooner showed in those countries signs of life than it was crushed.

CHAPTER XX

SPAIN UNDER CHARLES I. (1516-56), KNOWN AS EMPEROR CHARLES V., AND PHILIP II. (1556-98); HER WORLD EMINENCE AND HER DECAY.

LITERATURE.—Johnson (as before).

M. A. S. Hume, *Philip II.* (Foreign Statesmen).

M. A. S. Hume, *Spain, Greatness and Decay* (1479-1788).

FROM a Spanish national point of view it was a great misfortune that Charles I. (1516-56) was elected to the empire in 1519, and became the Emperor Charles V. Henceforth, *Charles as king of Spain.* although representing imperial rather than Spanish interests, he nevertheless relied almost exclusively upon Spanish resources. Thus Spain was drained of men and money, to advance not her own cause in the world, but the personal prestige of her sovereign.

Because of Charles's divided affections, and further because of his short-sighted home-policy, Spain suffered irremediable internal injuries during his outwardly brilliant reign. In fact, her gradual decay may be dated from this time. We have seen that the Spanish monarchy tended under Ferdinand and Isabella toward absolutism, but we have also seen that absolutism was on the whole worthily used for the abasement of the nobles and for the advancement of peace and order. Under Charles it was unfortunately used against the people. The cities of Castile enjoyed a considerable measure of self-government, but when in *Charles, enemy of free institutions.* 1521 they rose in revolt against certain arbitrary measures of the crown, Charles, crushing them by means of an army, deprived them of almost all their liberties. At the same

time the Parliament (Cortes) of Castile, which had once enjoyed even more influence than the Parliament of England, was stripped of most of its power. Thus Charles contributed to the ruin of the free institutions of his country and thereby sealed up a spring which at all times has been an important source of a people's vitality. And to make things

Charles, friend of the Inquisition. worse, the Inquisition, already under Ferdinand and Isabella an instrument of tyranny, grew now to more and more monstrous proportions. The

executions of Moors and Jews were conducted with zest, but we should, in fairness to Charles, remember that, cruel and unwise as this policy of persecution was, it was heartily endorsed by the sincere and fervid tolerance of the Spanish people.

The last thirteen years of his reign Charles spent in Germany. The Protestant successes there broke his spirit, and he resigned

Philip II. succeeds to the kingdom of Spain. his crowns in 1556, Spain to his son Philip, Austria to his brother Ferdinand. Philip II. (1556-98) on his accession found himself at the head of states

(Spain and colonies, Naples, Milan and the Netherlands) hardly less extensive than those which Charles had governed, and as he did not become emperor, he had, from the Spanish point of view, the great excellence over Charles that he was a national king. As such, he endeared himself to his people, and still lives in their memory.

It is curious that this same Philip, whom the Spaniards esteem so highly, should stand before the rest of Europe as the

The character of Philip. darkest tyrant and most persistent enemy of light and progress whom the age produced. To this traditional European picture there certainly belongs

a measure of truth ; but calm investigation teaches us that this truth is distorted with prejudice. Philip II. was a severe, cold, and narrow-minded man. He looked upon himself as God's agent on earth, and therefore hated all resistance to his will. Further he was a fervid Romanist, and abominated heresy of whatever form or description. Because of these views he clashed with the world of the north, which had freer concep-

tions of religion and government, and because of them he remains to this day to friends of progress an unsympathetic figure. But, whatever our judgment of him, it is due to him to remember that he was what he was with entire conviction.

With such ideas as the above governing his life, it was only natural that Philip should have become the champion of Roman Catholicism, and should have directed the chief effort of his reign against the Protestants. However, these religious wars were not altogether his fault. An impartial student must agree that they were as much forced upon him by Protestant aggression and the logical progress of events, as determined by his own Catholic impulses. As things stood, after the Council of Trent, a great Protestant-Roman world-war was inevitable. It came by way of the Spanish Netherlands. The Netherlands revolted, and Philip set about putting down the revolt. But the Netherlands could not be pacified by him, and, adopting Protestantism, gradually won the sympathies and secured the aid of the French Huguenots and the German and English Protestants. So the war widened; finding himself opposed in the Netherlands by the united Protestant peoples, Philip, in order to secure the Roman sympathies, put himself forward as the champion of the pope and of Roman Catholicism.

*Philip,
champion of
Catholicism.*

Philip's reign began with a war (1556-59) against Henry II. of France. The French once more attempted to weaken the hold of the Spaniards on Italy and the Netherlands, and once more they were unsuccessful. In the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) the long rivalry over Italy, inaugurated a half century before, was closed, and Spain left in undisputed possession of Naples and Milan. This war was entirely a political affair. But shortly after began the revolt of the Netherlands, and the long chain of wars pertaining thereto have all, more or less, a religious aspect.

*Philip
clinches his
hold on
Italy.*

Philip's war against the Dutch will be treated in a separate

chapter. We note here merely that after a decade of uninterrupted fighting, it assumed, owing to the sympathies and alliances vouchsafed the Dutch, a universal character: to the war with the Protestant rebels was added a war with the French Huguenots under Henry of Navarre and a war with the England of Elizabeth. Furiously Philip turned at length upon his leading Protestant enemy, upon England.

The height of the struggle between Spain and England was the sending of the great fleet, the Armada, against the northern power (1588). The Atlantic waters had never seen the like; but the expedition failed miserably by reason of the superior skill and audacity of the English sailors and the disasters caused by wind and water. Philip bore his defeat with his usual calmness. He spoke unaffectedly of the deep grief it caused him "not to be able to render God this great service." But the destruction of the Armada settled the great religious conflict. It determined that the Dutch should not be reconquered; it secured the Protestant world henceforth against the Roman Catholic reaction; and it put in the place of decaying Spain a new sea-power—England.

But the Protestant heretics were not Philip's only enemies. The Turks, who had for some generations been threatening the west, engaged much of his attention. Bit by bit they had reduced the Venetian possessions in the east; foot by foot they had pushed across Hungary toward Germany; and Mohammedan pirates planted in northern Africa constantly plundered the Spanish coasts. Finally, in their great need, the pope, Venice, and Spain formed an alliance (1571), and in the same year their united fleet, under Philip's half-brother, Don John of Austria, won a brilliant victory over the Turks in the Gulf of Lepanto, 1571. Lepanto, in Greece. More than two hundred and fifty vessels were engaged on either side, and when the day was over no more than fifty Turkish vessels were found to have escaped destruction. Although the victory brought no

tangible conquests to Christendom, the Mohammedan sea-power received a set-back from which it never again completely recovered. Lepanto is one of the proud moments of the history of Philip and of Spain.

Another triumph of Philip's reign was the acquisition of Portugal, the only state of the peninsula of the Pyrenees which Spain had not yet absorbed. The event occurred in the year 1580, when the last native king of Portugal died, and Philip, who had a claim based upon the frequent intermarriages of the two reigning houses, took possession of the state and of her colonies. However, the Portuguese, proud of their nationality and their achievements during the Age of Discoveries, accepted the yoke of the greater state unwillingly. The memories of Portuguese independence would not perish, and after Spain had entered upon her decline, and only forty years after Philip's death, Portugal rose and won back her freedom, under a new royal House, the House of Braganza (1640). Since then Portugal and Spain have never been united.

If the great wars with the Protestant powers, Lepanto, and the acquisition of Portugal gave a certain outward splendour to Philip's reign, beneath that splendour and within the boundaries of Spain everything pointed to ruin.

Absolutism lay like a weight of lead upon everybody, crushing individual thought and business enterprise. Its bad effects were supplemented by the Inquisition, which killed or banished the Jews and systematically exterminated the poor descendants of the Moors whose agricultural knowledge and industrial skill were far in advance of anything the Spaniards themselves could boast.

Inquisition and absolutism—these are the names of the chief diseases which racked the body of the Spanish nation. As they are associated with the central power, it is customary to describe the decline of Spain solely to her bigoted, unwise kings. But the Spanish people themselves must bear a share of the blame. To a stubborn religious intolerance which shut them off from all

new ideas, they added a lordly pride and a southern indolence which made them contemptuous of the great and saving gospel of work.

Philip III. (1598-1621), who succeeded Philip II., was an utterly incapable man. In 1609 he was obliged to bend his *Philip III.* pride in a way in which his father refused to do, (1598-1621). and conclude with the rebel Dutch a twelve years' truce. It was the public acknowledgment of Spain's decline. Under Philip IV. (1621-65) the country dropped definitely to the second and third rank among European powers in consequence of the disgraceful treaties of Westphalia (1648) and of the Pyrenees (1659), which closed her long wars with the Netherlands and with France. In 1659 the political, social, and material decline of Spain was patent to every observer.

CHAPTER XXI

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS (1485-1603); FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE REFORMATION UNDER ELIZABETH (1559-1603).

LITERATURE.—Gairdner, *Henry VII.*

Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers.*

J. R. Green, *History of the English People.*

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Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History.*

Creighton, *The Age of Elizabeth.*

Beesly, *Elizabeth.*

Social England. Edited by Traill.

Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce.*

Wakeman, *History of the English Church, and The Church and the Puritans.*

Boyd Carpenter, *Popular History of the Church of England.*

Henry VIII. (1509-47).

S. R. Gardiner, *Student's History of England.*

More, *Utopia.*

Stubbs, *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History.*

Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII.*

Creighton, *Cardinal Wolsey.*

J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People.*

Wakeman and Pullan, *The Reformation in Great Britain.*

HENRY VII., the first Tudor monarch and creator of the "strong monarchy," was succeeded on his death in 1509 by his son Henry VIII. Henry VIII. was an attractive youth of twenty, skilled in gentlemanly sports such as riding and tennis, condescending with all people, free-handed and fond of pageantry, and altogether the idol of his nation, which received him with acclamations

*Great expectations
aroused by
Henry
VIII.*

of joy. As he had humanistic leanings, it was at first supposed that his reign would lead to a great culmination of humanism.

The leading English humanists were John Colet and Sir Thomas More. Erasmus also deserves to be named in this connection, for, although he was born at Rotterdam, *The English humanists.* he lived for a time in England and exercised a great influence there. These men, like their contemporaries in Germany, stood for the new classical learning; they interested themselves in the ideal philosophy of Plato; and they spread through England the passion for a reformed and simple Christian life. Because the University of Oxford became a seat of humanistic influence, the English humanists are generally known as the Oxford reformers.

The Oxford reformers did, each in his own way, important civilizing work. Colet's interest lay largely in education. *Colet's work in education.* With his own fortune he founded St Paul's school for boys along lines that were as far as possible removed from any followed in the Middle Age. The old pedagogic brutality was replaced by affectionate interest, and Greek and Latin, taught in a fresh, human way, crowded out the petrified studies of the schoolmen. St Paul's school became the model for many new schools created in the following years.

Sir Thomas More, having adopted a political career, became chiefly interested in problems of good government. His ideas on this subject he laid down in a famous book, "Utopia" (the Kingdom of Nowhere, 1516). *Sir Thomas More's Utopia.* The Utopia is not a realistic political treatise, such as Machiavelli's Prince, but presents an ideal which human government and society should strive to reach. Justice, freedom, and equality are the pillars of More's visionary kingdom, and by exhibiting the delightfulness of a life established upon such a basis, he brought sharply to the mind of his contemporaries the shortcomings of the kingdoms of which they formed a part. In Utopia education was obligatory; there were wise sanitary provisions; animals were

treated with kindness; religious tolerance was a government rule. People reading of these things must have wished greatly to realize them in this life.

Henry did not yield to the humanistic influences for long. He heaped many favours upon individual humanists, but showed at the same time that he cared not so much for domestic reform as for personal aggrandizement. Under the smooth exterior of the king there gradually appeared a stubborn and imperious egotism which would brook no opposition to its will.

*Henry
adopts a
policy of
aggrandize-
ment.*

The leading events of the next years are associated with Henry's wars. In 1512 the king joined Spain and the pope in the Holy League, which was created for the purpose of driving the French out of Italy, and while Louis XII. of France was busy defending Milan, Henry invaded his rival's territory from Calais, then still an English possession. The most notable results of these campaigns across the Channel was a cheap victory, known as the Battle of the Spurs (1513).

*Henry
plunges into
the French-
Spanish
imbroglio.*

However, a more decisive advantage was gained in another direction. When the king of France found himself threatened by the king of England, he naturally sought the alliance of the monarch of Scotland, James IV., and while Henry was campaigning in France, James crossed the Scottish border and pushed south. Brought to a halt at Flodden Field, he was there signally defeated, himself and the flower of his nobility remaining dead upon the field. It was the last time the Scots seriously threatened the prestige of England.

*Troubles
with the
Scots.*

The favourite adviser of Henry at this period of his life was Thomas Wolsey (1471-1530). Wolsey was a mere butcher's son, but having joined the clergy rose rapidly by virtue of his talents from post to post, until the king's favour won for him the archbishopric of York, and at the same time raised him to the position of Lord Chancellor, the highest post in the civil administration of the realm (1515). Thus Wolsey became the king's second self.

*Wolsey,
archbishop
and Lord
Chancellor*

Unfortunately he was over-fond of power and its outward symbols, such as gorgeous palaces, trains of servants, and sumptuous feasts, and altogether his ambition and vanity subtracted somewhat from his undoubted patriotism and intelligence.

Meanwhile, beginning with the ninety-five theses of 1517, Europe had become agitated by the question of the Reformation, and it seemed to Henry to devolve on him to adopt some definite attitude toward Luther's heresy. Henry was not untutored in theology.

*Henry takes
sides
against
Luther.*

In fact, he prided himself upon being a master of all its intricacies, and his vanity urged him not to conceal his light under a bushel. When Luther went so far as to attack the sacraments and the authority of the pope, Henry published a vehement pamphlet against him (1521), in return for which service the pope, gratified at finding a champion among the royalty, conferred upon Henry the title of Defender of the Faith. The good understanding between the king and the pope was, however, sadly ruffled before long by the rise of the divorce question.

Henry's marriage deserves close consideration. The reader will remember that Henry VII., in pursuance of his peace policy, had sought to associate himself with Spain. *Henry's marriage.* He calculated that England was threatened by France alone, and that Spain and England in alliance would render France harmless. Spain did not fail to see her own advantage in this policy of Henry, and finally Ferdinand of Spain and Henry VII. of England agreed to cement their interests by a matrimonial alliance. Accordingly the boy-prince of Wales, Arthur, was married to Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. But shortly after the ceremony Arthur died, and, as the desire for the alliance continued as before, the idea naturally occurred to the families concerned to marry Arthur's widow to Arthur's surviving brother, Henry. However, an obstacle to this project was offered by a Church law, which forbade a man to marry his deceased brother's wife. In this dilemma the then pope, Julius II., granted a special

dispensation, whereby the church law was annulled for Catharine's and Henry's benefit. The way being thus cleared, the marriage actually took place immediately upon Henry's accession (1509).

It will be readily seen that the legality of Henry's marriage depended upon the pope's dispensation. And for a number of years Henry seems never to have doubted that his marriage was a real marriage, nor to have thought that there was anything wrong with the pope's special warrant. But gradually circumstances arose and conditions were created that made it very desirable to him to get rid of his wife. These were as follows: Catharine was five years older than himself, and her melancholy religious temperament was incompatible with his boisterous worldliness; he hoped for a son to secure the succession and he had by Catharine only a sickly daughter, Mary; the marriage with Catharine was merely a concession to the Spanish alliance and that had just (1525) been broken; finally, he loved another woman, the young and charming maid of honour, Anne Boleyn. For all these reasons Henry began to think of a divorce, and naturally enough he attacked, in order to get it, the pope's dispensation upon which the marriage hinged.

*Reasons
why Henry
desired a
divorce.*

It was in 1527 that Henry took up the divorce matter. He informed the pope, who was Clement VII., that he considered the dispensation to be technically faulty, and begged him to annul it. Naturally, the pope wished to proceed slowly in so important a matter, and his hesitation was further increased by the sack of Rome, which, coming at this time (1527), impressed him with the power of the emperor. Under the terror of recent punishment Clement opined that he had better proceed cautiously in a divorce that touched the family honour of Charles V. so intimately. His policy, therefore, was to put Henry off, and, to gain time, he even ordered, in 1529, an investigation to be conducted in England by two special legates Wolsey and an Italian, named Campeggio. But no more came

*The pope
treats the
divorce suit
dilatatorily.*

of this move than of any other; Campeggio suddenly betook himself home, and Henry, outraged by the failure of his hopes, disgraced Wolsey, and might have had him executed if an opportune death had not intervened (1530).

Henry, despairing more and more of getting what he wanted from the pope, now gradually determined on the breach with Rome. If the English Church were declared independent, the divorce would go before an English ecclesiastical tribunal, and how such a court would decide was not a matter of doubt in Henry's mind.

Henry determines on a breach with Rome.

Luckily, too, the breach with Rome was popular with the English people, who had long looked with disgust upon papal interference in national affairs. Thus Henry, without very great difficulty, destroyed by a series of measures the pope's authority in England. As far as he took advice, he gave ear to two councillors, Thomas Cranmer, a learned divine, and Thomas Cromwell, who, once a servant of Wolsey, soon took Wolsey's place in the council.

Henry's leading measures were as follows: first, he secured by threats the submission of the English clergy to his authority; then, appointing his friend Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, he referred the divorce to him (1533) and got a decree of separation; finally, he married Anne Boleyn and proclaimed her queen (1533).

The main steps in the breach.

All this implied a challenge of the pope which was only likely to prove successful if followed by a legal dissolution of all bonds uniting Rome and England. Parliament was therefore called in at this point, and in 1534 completed Henry's work.

Parliament completes Henry's work.

It forbade all appeals to Rome "of whatever nature, condition, or quality;" it gave the king the right to appoint the bishops; and finally it passed the Act of Supremacy, by which it declared that the king "was the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England."

The Act of Supremacy, 1534.

Thus Henry, head of the state, became also head of the Church, or briefly, the English pope. And never did a pope

at Rome insist more strenuously on his authority. Henry would brook no opposition to the new arrangements, and in order to terrorize the malcontents executed two of the leading men of England, Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, the humanist. The crime of these men was that they did not believe in the late changes.

Henry, the English pope.

From the first, it was an interesting question how far Henry would depart from the accepted Roman organization, doctrines, and practices, and how far he would adopt the Protestant position. The crisis terminating in the Act of Supremacy had established the independence of the English Church from Rome. To a certain extent, however, Henry was likely to be influenced by the Protestant Reformation, especially in view of the fact that his most trusted councillor was Cromwell, who had strong Lutheran leanings.

Henry's attitude toward Protestantism.

A number of innovations were therefore gradually admitted. The English Bible was put into every church; the doctrines concerning purgatory, indulgences, and masses for the dead were condemned; pilgrimages were forbidden and miraculous images destroyed. But the most incisive innovation was the suppression of the monasteries.

Protestant changes.

There existed at Henry's accession about 1,200 monasteries in England, the wealth of which, especially in land, was very considerable. Many of these monasteries had become corrupt, and the whole system no longer enjoyed the favour with which it was once regarded. Cardinal Wolsey himself had therefore begun the policy of suppression, and now under Cromwell it was completed.

The suppression of the monasteries, 1536.

In 1536 Henry got a decree from parliament which rang the death-knell of the monks in England. The monastic foundations were declared the property of the king, who made them over in large part to the nobility, and applied the rest to the endowment of bishoprics and schools, or in wasteful court expenditures.

Thus far the majority of the English people had concurred

with Henry, for, although papal in feeling, they wished to be free from Rome, and believed that the monasteries were an evil. But Henry was now to receive a warning that he had gone as far as the people would permit. In the north of England, where medieval conditions continued to linger, a protest was raised against the suppression of the monasteries which soon took the form of a revolt. This was the so-called Pilgrimage of Grace (1536), which, although vigorously suppressed, had an effect in that it convinced the king that he had better go no further for the present. He therefore not only called a halt, but in 1539 fell a victim to a partial reaction. Frightened by the advance of Lutheran opinion, Henry disgraced and executed Cromwell, the Lutheran sympathizer, and published a Confession of Faith in Six Articles in which he declared for a number of leading Roman doctrines, such as celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, and transubstantiation. For the rest of his reign, Henry punished both Protestants and Roman Catholics, the former for differing with the Six Articles, the latter for refusing to accept his supremacy.

Henry's foreign policy was throughout the first part of his reign directed by Wolsey. The important political matter of the time was the rivalry between France and Spain, the respective sovereigns of which were Francis I. and Charles V. Henry's alliance was solicited by both monarchs, and he sided sometimes with Charles and sometimes with Francis.

A personal page in Henry's history demands at least passing recognition. It presents the story of his marriages. We have already followed the tragedy of Catharine of Aragon to the coronation of Anne Boleyn. Anne Boleyn gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, and soon afterward was executed (1536). The next wife was Jane Seymour, who died a natural death, leaving a son Edward. The fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, did not suit Henry at all, and was hardly married when she was divorced (1540). As the fifth wife, Catharine

Howard, proved untrue, she was beheaded (1542), and so room was made for a sixth Catharine Parr, who, although occasionally in imminent danger, managed, by submission, to outlive her husband.

Henry died in 1547. Having been given the right by Parliament to determine the succession by will, he entailed the crown upon his three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, in the order named.

The succession.

Edward VI. (1547-53).

Gardiner.

Powers.

Green.

Pollard, *Protector Somerset.*

As Edward VI. was but nine years old when his father lay at the point of death, Henry provided, during his son's minority, a council of regency, at the head of which he put Edward's maternal uncle, the duke of Somerset. Somerset, however, disregarding Henry's will, assumed complete control, with the title of protector.

The protector or Somerset.

The great question of the hour was the question of religion. The Church, being neither Papal nor Protestant, displeased the faithful of either fold, and Somerset, who had Lutheran sympathies, resolved before long to carry through a thorough Protestant reform. He had in this the support of Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, who was also a Protestant at heart. These two men now inaugurated an era of change which Anglican historians usually speak of as "The Protestant Misrule." Pictures and altars were swept out of the churches, the rich vestments and the sacred processions were abandoned, and the Latin mass was replaced by an English service. In order to make possible the conduct of this service, Cranmer issued in 1549 the English Book of Common Prayer. At the same time, the English Church shifted from Roman to Protestant doctrinal ground, and in the year 1552 there was issued a new Confession of Faith, known as the Forty-two Articles of Religion, which is saturated through and

The adoption of Protestantism.

The Prayer Book and the Articles of Religion.

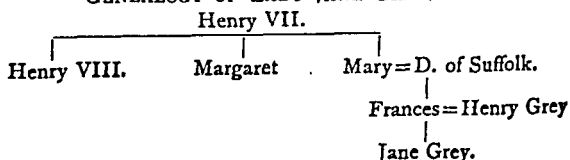
through with the Protestant and even the Calvinistic spirit. Entirely in line with these changes, the principle of celibacy was abandoned and the clergy permitted to marry.

The protector Somerset, however, did not live to complete the establishment of the Protestant Church. Discontent was rife everywhere at his inconsiderate manner and his revolutionary programme, and in 1549 he fell a victim to a plot of the nobles, and later was beheaded. Although he was succeeded in power by his political opponent, the duke of Northumberland, the new regent substantially adopted Somerset's radically Protestant policy.

Even had Northumberland been willing to make concessions to the Papal party, he would have been hindered by the will of the young king. Edward VI. was, as is frequently the case with invalid children, a boy of remarkable precocity. His uncle Somerset had given him a severe Protestant training, and he pored over the Scriptures with the fervour of a Calvinistic preacher. However, in the course of the year 1553, his vitality becoming very apparently exhausted, the question of the succession came to the front. On his death the crown would rightfully fall to Mary, who, like her Spanish mother Catharine, was a devout Roman Catholic. The prospect of her reign frightened North-

umberland, who, as a Protestant, had reason to fear a papal sovereign. He therefore played upon the young king's Protestant conscience with such skill that he persuaded him to make a testament excluding his sisters Mary and Elizabeth from the throne, and nominating as his successor a great granddaughter of Henry VII., the Lady Jane Grey.¹ The calculating Northumberland,

¹ GENEALOGY OF LADY JANE GREY.



however, had previously married Lady Jane Grey to one of his own sons, Guilford Dudley. Thus he hoped to perpetuate his power. In July, 1553, Edward died.

Mary (1553-58).

Ranke, *History of England*, Vol. 1.

Gardiner.

Green.

Edward had hardly expired when Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane Grey. But if he had any hope of carrying his candidate he was soon disillusioned. The mass of the people saw through his despicable intrigue and rallied around Mary, their legitimate sovereign. They hailed Mary gladly, because not only their sense of justice, but also their dearest hopes, designated her as their queen. For the majority of the people were still Roman Catholic, and the radical Protestantism of Edward and Northumberland had aroused their animosity. From Mary they expected the return of the mass and of the ancient Roman practices, from which they were not yet weaned in their hearts.

The Lady Jane Grey was, in consequence of this unhesitating devotion of the English people to their rightful sovereign, crowned only to be deposed again. Northumberland justly paid for his ambition with his head. Unfortunately, Lady Jane Grey, who was utterly innocent of the plot to depose Queen Mary, and who had accepted the crown from her father-in-law almost against her will, paid the same penalty.

It is certain that if Mary had adopted a moderate religious policy, her reign would have met the wishes of her people. But Mary had nothing about her suggesting compromise. Her Spanish blood called upon her to be faithful, above all things, to her faith. She, therefore, planned nothing less than a return of England to the pope's fold—a full restoration of the Church of Rome. And that was a delusion. For, however the English people were attached to their ancient practices,

Mary plans a full Catholic restoration.

the Act of Supremacy, proclaiming the English independence of Rome, had the consent of the nation.

The very first acts of Mary's reign left no doubt about her policy. The parliament straightway abolished all the acts which had been voted under Edward, re-established the old faith, and forbade the new. When the married clergymen had been expelled and the old liturgy had been introduced, the last measure necessary for the undoing of the work of the past years could be undertaken. In November, 1554, there arrived in London Cardinal Pole, the legate of the pope, and the parliament having abolished the Act of Supremacy of 1534, the English nation was solemnly received back by Pole into the bosom of Mother Church.

If the ultra-papal policy of Mary alienated popular sympathy, she still further aroused the hostility of her subjects by her marriage with a foreigner, Philip, son and heir of Charles V. (1554). But as opposition to her increased, her Tudor imperiousness rose to meet it, and led her soon to adopt that policy of persecution which has won for her from a Protestant posterity the title of Bloody Mary, and has made her reign famous as the period of the Protestant martyrs. The record of deaths is heavy: sixty-five men died by the fagot in the year 1555, seventy in 1556. Their staunchness in death did more toward establishing Protestantism in England than the doctrinal fervour of an army of Calvinistic preachers could have done. It was even as Bishop Latimer said to Bishop Ridley at the stake: "Master Ridley, play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out." For the stout part they played, Latimer and Ridley head the Protestant martyrology. But the persecution struck a more prominent, if not a more noble, victim than these, in the person of the deposed archbishop of Canterbury. This was the celebrated Cranmer, who had served under two kings. Cranmer, who had always shown a subservient spirit, flinched

when the trial came and denied his faith. But in the face of death his courage came back to him. He thrust his right hand into the flame, and steadying it there, said, resolutely: "This is the hand that wrote the recantation, therefore it first shall suffer punishment."

If Edward's radical Protestantism made his reign detested, Mary's radical Catholicism produced the same result. The hatred of her subjects soon pursued her even into *The loss of* her palace. She was a quiet, tender woman, *Calais*, whose intolerance was more the crime of the age than her own, and the harvest of aversion which was springing up about her was more than she could bear. Besides, her marriage was unfortunate. She loved Philip, but *Tennyson*, Philip cared nothing for her, and did not even *Queen Mary* trouble to hide his indifference to the sickly and *(drama)*. ill-favoured woman, twelve years older than himself. To crown her misfortunes, she allowed her Spanish husband to draw her into a war with France, in which Philip won all the honour and Mary suffered all the disgrace, by the loss of the last point which remained to England from her former possessions in France, Calais (1558). Doubtless the loss of Calais was for England a benefit in disguise; she was thereby cut off from the continent and directed to her true sphere, the sea. But to the living generation of Englishmen the capture seemed an insufferable dishonour, and no one felt it more keenly than Mary. "When I die," she is reported to have said shortly before her death (November, 1558), "Calais will be found written on my heart."

Elizabeth (1558-1603).

- Froude, *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century*.
 Hosack, *Mary, Queen of Scots, and her Accusers*.
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 Kingsley, *Westward Ho!*
 S. R. Gardiner, *Student's History of England*.
 J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People*.
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 Creighton, *The Age of Elizabeth and Cardinal Wolsey*.
 Beesly, *Elizabeth*.
 Boyd Carpenter, *Popular History of the Church of England*.

Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter and Mary's younger half-sister, succeeded to the throne on Mary's death, and inaugurated

The glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth. a reign which proved to be the most glorious of any which England has ever had. Under Elizabeth, Protestantism was firmly established in England; the great sea-power, Spain, was challenged and defeated; and English life flowered in the poetry of Shakespeare and his contemporaries more exuberantly and more exquisitely than ever before or since.

To the national greatness, to which England suddenly raised herself in the sixteenth century, Elizabeth has had the good fortune to lend her name. In consequence she appears in a halo that is calculated to blind us to her faults. Of these, however, she had her full

The character of Elizabeth. human quota: vanity, fickleness, and love of amorous intrigue being especially prominent. But these qualities hardly more than superficially obscure her great merits. Throughout her reign she exhibited a statesmanlike grasp of circumstances and an inflexible determination.

As regards the great matter of religion, which her contemporaries regarded as the eminently important thing in life, Elizabeth seems to have been comparatively lukewarm. Thus inclined by nature to be moderate, she was delivered from the destructive radicalism of both Edward and Mary, and happily given to the search rather of what united than what divided men.

The chief organs of Elizabeth's government were the Privy Council and the parliament. The Privy Council answered the purpose of a modern cabinet, and Elizabeth regularly heard its advice before arriving at a decision. No little credit is due to her for her wise choice of councillors, and especially for the confidence she put in William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who was the greatest English statesman of the time. The Privy Council, a body of her own choice, Elizabeth was far more anxious to consult than the parliament, a body elected by the people. Parliament under Elizabeth remained therefore what it had been under the other Tudors, an obedient instrument of the royal will. The real power was concentrated almost absolutely in Elizabeth's hands.

Privy Council and Parliament.

The great question of the Reformation was the first question that confronted Elizabeth. Edward had followed a policy of radical Protestantism and had failed; Mary had followed a policy of strictly Roman Catholicism and had failed; it was plain that the wise course would be a moderate course, and should lie between these two.

Elizabeth adopts a moderate religious policy.

Elizabeth therefore began by letting the Parliament pass, in 1559, the Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity, which are the foundations of the English Church as that Church stands to-day. By the Act of Supremacy the independence of England from Rome was again proclaimed and Elizabeth declared the supreme governor of the realm in spiritual as well as temporal matters; by the Act of Uniformity the clergy were forbidden to depart from the service laid down in the Book of Common Prayer. Later on, it may here be noted, uniformity was also required in the matter of the creed which was stated in the Thirty-nine Articles, a revision of the Forty-two Articles of Edward's time. Thus the Anglican Church (also called Episcopal Church, because of its government by bishops) was finally established, and practically in the form in which we have it to-day.

The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, 1559.

Elizabeth's policy of a moderate Protestantism conformed to the wishes of the majority of the English people. In consequence the feeling of uncertainty, occasioned by the rapid changes of the previous reigns, was soon replaced by a merited confidence. Slowly Protestantism won its way into the hearts of the English people and crowded out the medieval faith. But for a long time the papal party was still a considerable factor in English life. However, Elizabeth was not, strictly speaking, a persecutor. Freedom of worship she would not suffer, and Roman Catholics had to attend the national Church or pay fines for absenting themselves (recusancy fines). But they were not punished in their persons if they did not engage in political conspiracies.

In the proportion in which Roman Catholics decreased in number and importance, another party, as ill-disposed in its own way to the Anglican Church as the Catholics were in theirs, increased. This was the party of the Protestant radicals, who were not satisfied with Elizabeth's half-measures, and clamoured for a thorough-going Protestant organization. The non-conformists, as these Protestants were called, soon split into two parties, Puritans and Separatists. The Puritans were moderate opponents, who did not sever their connection with the Anglican Church, because they hoped to win it over to their programme. Their name was originally a nick-name, given them by their Anglican adversaries in consequence of their demand for what they called a purer worship. This purer worship aimed at stripping the Anglican Church of many of the Roman practices which had been retained, such as genuflections, wearing the surplice, and decorating the altar. The Separatists (also called Brownists, after their founder, Robert Brown) were radicals who knew no compromise. The Established Church being to them no better than the Roman Church, they refused to attend it, and thus made themselves liable to persecution under the Act of Uniformity.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne her religious policy

was so moderate that both Philip and the pope for a while maintained good relations with her. But gradually a coolness sprang up, and in 1570, the pope announced that his patience was exhausted by publishing a bull of excommunication against the queen. From this time, England more and more and almost unconsciously assumed the leadership of the Protestant world, and since the Roman reaction was growing more ambitious every day, it was plain that a great world-struggle between Protestantism and Rome, conducted chiefly by their respective champions, England and Spain, could not be long put off.

*Elizabeth
compelled to
champion
Protestant-
ism.*

Every event in Elizabeth's reign contributed to precipitate the struggle; notably the queen's relations with Scotland and Scotland's sovereign, Mary Stuart. Scotland had been England's foe for centuries, and the bitterness between the two kingdoms was probably never fiercer than at this time. Henry VII. had wisely attempted to establish a greater harmony between the royal houses by marrying his daughter Margaret to James IV. But war was not thereby averted. James IV. and James V. both sympathized with France and both perished in the struggle against England, the latter (1542) when his only heir and successor, Mary, was but a few weeks old. Mary Stuart's descent from Henry VII. and the prospective failure of Henry VIII.'s direct descendants, opened for the child the prospect of the English succession. On the death of Mary Tudor (1558), there was, with the exception of Elizabeth, no other descendant of Henry VII. alive as prominent as she. To the Roman Catholics, moreover, who saw in the daughter of Anne Boleyn merely an illegitimate child, she had even a better claim than Elizabeth. Out of this relation of the two women to the English throne sprang their intense hatred of each other, and the long and bloody drama of their jealousy, ending in Mary's death upon the scaffold.

*The affairs
of Scotland.*

*Schiller,
Mary Stuart
(drama).*

When Mary succeeded to the throne of Scotland she was, as has been said, a child in arms. Her mother, another Mary, of

the French family of Guise, assumed the regency, and in order to withdraw her child from possible English influences, sent her over to France, where she was soon betrothed to the heir of the throne. Thus the interests of France and Scotland were newly knit, to the detriment of England.

Mary of Guise soon met in Scotland the difficulties associated with the Reformation that every sovereign of that day had to face, for during her regency a number of enthusiastic Calvinist preachers, among whom John Knox (1505-72) occupies the first place, began proclaiming with success the new faith.

For a while the issue trembled in the balance, but when the nobles, lured by the prospect of the rich church lands which awaited secularization, threw in their lot with the preachers, the success of the Scotch Reformation was assured. A last desperate attempt of the regent to put down the Protestants with the aid of the French troops having failed, owing chiefly to the assistance which the cunning Elizabeth lent the Scottish rebels, the regent was obliged to sign the treaty of Edinburgh (1560) and sent the French troops home. As she died this same year, and Queen Mary was still in France, the Protestant lords suddenly found themselves masters of the situation. In a parliament composed of the friends of Knox, they established the new Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian Kirk (1560).

Up to this time the absent Queen Mary had not concerned herself much with the doings of far away Scotland. Her husband, Francis II., had lately (1559) become king of France, and ever since the death of Mary Tudor (1558) she had, supported by a good part of the Roman Catholic world, looked upon herself as queen, too, of England. But the year 1560 disturbed her outlook greatly. Her husband Francis II. died, and Elizabeth made herself tolerably secure at home. Scotland alone seemed to be left to Mary, and as Scotland needed its sovereign, she suddenly (1561) hurried thither.

When Mary landed in Scotland she was only nineteen years old and no better than a stranger. Add to this fact the circumstance that she was confronted by a lawless nobility, and, as a Roman Catholic, was an object of suspicion to her Protestant subjects, and you have the elements of a problem that even a better and wiser person than Mary might not have solved.

But though Mary proved inadequate, she was a woman of many admirable gifts. She had been brought up in France in the refinement that adorned the court of the Valois; she had wit and beauty, nay, more, she had a certain indefinable charm which enabled her to dominate all men whom she approached. But unfortunately Mary was also the slave of her passions, and therein lay the distinction between her and her cousin Elizabeth. Elizabeth was in the final instance always the statesman guided by the sense of her duty to her country; Mary in the final instance was always a woman, swayed by her love or her hatred.

In the year 1565 Mary married her cousin, Lord Darnley, and from that moment everything went badly. Lord Darnley turned out to be proud, loutish, and dissolute. He plotted with a party of the nobles hostile to Mary, and in conjunction with them planned and executed the murder of the Italian, David Rizzio, one of Mary's secretaries (1566). Such love as Mary had for Darnley now turned to hate, and when in February, 1567, Darnley was murdered in a house just outside of Edinburgh, report immediately connected Mary with the crime. Its real author was soon known to be the earl of Bothwell, a dare-devil cavalier, who was deeply in love with the queen, but was the queen his accomplice? The question has been asked again and again but never answered conclusively. By what followed the murder, however, Mary compromised her good name beyond help. Not only did she fail to prosecute Bothwell seriously, but shortly after the murder she married him.

The result might have been foreseen. Her subjects, *The Scottish* horrified at her conduct, revolted, and although *Revolt.* she made a brave resistance she was defeated, and by the year 1568 found herself without support. Despairing of success, she now left Scotland in the hands of *Mary seeks* her enemies, who had proclaimed the accession of *refuge in* her infant son James, and sought refuge with *England,* Elizabeth. It was not a happy step. Mary *1568.* became Elizabeth's prisoner, and won her release only, after nineteen years, by laying her head upon the block.

The cue for this ungenerous conduct of the English queen toward her suppliant cousin is to be found in the political situation of Europe. We must again recall that this was the period of the counter-Reformation, and that in measure as the movement ripened toward a climax, the *The strug-* struggle between England and Spain was becom- *gle with* *Spain.* ing inevitable. Luckily at the approach of the great crisis the temper of Englishmen was hardening to steel. Conscious of their power, they even invited the threatening storm. Free-booters—Sir Francis Drake and others—harried the Spaniards on the Atlantic main, and soldiers enlisted under William of Orange to fight for freedom in the Netherlands. Finally, Elizabeth's grant of open aid to the revolted Dutch made an end of Philip's patience. He prepared against England an unexampled armament.

It was the rumour of Philip's invasion of England, coupled with *Execution of* the renewed activity of the Papal supporters of *Mary, 1587.* Mary, that cost the unfortunate queen of Scots her life. In February, 1587, Mary was executed at Fotheringay.

The next year the war between Spain and England came to a head. Philip, having at length got together one hundred and thirty-two ships, proudly called his Invincible Armada, despatched them toward the English *The Eng-* *lish prepare* *to meet the* *Armada.* coasts. The island-realm was thoroughly alive to its danger. In the face of the foreign invader all religious differences were forgotten and replaced by a national enthusiasm uniting all parties. An eloquent witness of this

elation is furnished by the fact that the English mustered even more ships than the Spaniards, finally, no less than one hundred and ninety-seven. Though these ships were no match in size for the Spanish galleons, by their speed, their excellent equipment, and the perfect seamanship of their sailors they more than made up the difference in bulk. The Spanish fleet had hardly appeared, toward the end of July, 1588, off the west coast of England, before the small and rapid English vessels darted in upon their rear and flank. The damage which was done the Spaniards during a passage of the Channel lasting eight days, forced them to harbour off Calais for repairs. Here a number of fire-ships sent among them discomfited them so completely that the admiral gave up the enterprise. Finding the Channel blocked behind him, he tried to make for home by the coast of Scotland, but untimely storms struck across his path and completed the work of the enemy.

*The defeat
of the
Armada.*

England was safe; and more than England, the cause of Protestantism the world over. For with the Armada the Roman Catholic reaction reached its height, and with the Armada's failure there set in an inevitable ebb.

*The
Armada, a
turning-
point.*

As for Elizabeth, the coming of the Spanish Armada was the climax of her brilliant reign. Henceforth her people identified her with the national triumph and worshipped her as the very spirit of England. But her private life slowly entered into eclipse. She was old, childless, and lonely. Her last sincere attachment, of which the earl of Essex was the object, brought her nothing but sorrow, for Essex plotted against her and had to be executed (1601). Slowly the shadows thickened around her, and in the year 1603 she died.

*Elizabeth's
last years.*

Most wonderful to consider remains England's varied progress during this reign. In fact, the reign became the starting-point of a new development, as, under Elizabeth, Englishmen for the first time grew aware that their true realm was the sea. The

*England
adopts the
sea.*

great sailors like Drake, Davis, and Frobisher voyaged to the remotest lands, and though they established no colonies, and though such attempts as were made by Sir Walter Raleigh, for instance, in Virginia, turned out to be premature, the idea of a colonial empire in the future was implanted in the minds of Englishmen; and for the present there were established lucrative commercial relations with various parts of the world. Before the death of Elizabeth, England, which had hitherto allowed Spain a monopoly of the sea, had fairly entered upon the path of oceanic expansion. The spread of the Anglo-Saxon race, one of the most significant events of Modern History, may therefore be dated from the time of Good Queen Bess.

With the increase of commerce, there came an increase of industry and wealth and a more elevated plane of living, which showed itself in a greater luxury of dress, in a courtlier society, and in the freer patronage of the theatre and the arts. Altogether England was new-made. The Italian Renaissance poured out its cornucopia of gifts upon her, and there followed such an energy of existence and expansion of the intellectual life of man as made this period one of the great culture-epochs of history.

The art by which this new life was immortalized was the drama, and Christopher Marlowe (d. 1593), Ben Jonson (d. 1637), and William Shakespeare (d. 1616) are its great luminaries. But the other fields of art and science were not left uncultivated. Edmund Spenser (d. 1599) wrote the great epic poem of the English tongue, the *Faërie Queene*, and Francis Bacon (d. 1626), the philosopher, gave a new zest to science by referring man directly to nature for his facts.

The expansion of life.

Shakespeare and Bacon.

CHAPTER XXII

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES (1566-1648).

LITERATURE.—Johnson (as before).

Fisher (as before).

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Also, *History of the United Netherlands*. 4 vols.

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THE part of Europe which has been designated from of old as the Netherlands or Low Countries is embraced approximately by modern Holland and Belgium. In the Middle Age the Netherlands consisted of a number of feudal principalities or provinces, constituted as duchies, counties, or lordships (for instance the duchy of Brabant, the county of Flanders, the county of Holland), all of which were practically independent of all foreign powers, and of each other, although there was not one to which France or Germany did not, by some unforgotten feudal right, have a claim. In the later Middle Age the House of Burgundy, a collateral branch of the House of France, had attempted to consolidate these provinces into a state, which should be independent of both the western and the eastern neighbour; but before the project had succeeded the family died out in the male branch with Charles the Bold (1477). Thereupon Louis XI. of France seized the duchy of Burgundy, which was a fief of France, but the Netherlands proper passed into the hands of Charles's daughter, Mary, and from her, through her marriage with emperor Maximilian, to

the House of Hapsburg. At the time of the Reformation, the Netherlands were therefore ruled by Charles V.

The Netherlands are peopled by two races, Kelts and Teutons, who, on the whole, have got along very well together here. The Kelts are a minority, speak a French dialect, and inhabit the southern districts of what is now Belgium. The Teutons inhabit the northern half of what is now Belgium and the whole of what is now Holland. Although originally one in blood and speech, they have been artificially divided, by the chances of history, into Flemish, the Teutons of Belgium, and Dutch, the Teutons of Holland, and employ two slightly different German dialects.

A good part of the land of the Low Countries is below the level of the sea, and has been won from that element only in undaunted, century-long struggles by means of a system of dykes, which form the rampart of the land against the hungry water. But the sea was not the only enemy to overcome in order to render the Netherlands habitable. The equally great danger arising to life and property in these parts from the periodical inundations of the great rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, had to be met by an enterprise no less gigantic than the dykes. To carry off the overflow there was devised and gradually completed a system of canals, which covers the country like a net and distributes the water from the rivers over a vast area. The plentiful water-ways of Holland and Belgium, although due in the first instance to necessity, have proved a great blessing. They have given the country the greenest and richest meadows of Europe, and besides, furnish thoroughfares for traffic, which have the merit of cheapness, durability, and picturesqueness.

The reign of Charles V. proved very advantageous for the material development of the Netherlands, and was unsuccessful in only one particular, religion. The Protestant agitation which troubled Germany was naturally disrespectful of landmarks, and at an early point of its history was carried into the Low Countries. Charles, who

The Kelts and Teutons.

Physical features: dykes and canals.

The question of Protestantism.

was forced, as we have seen, by his dependence on the princes of the Diet, to a disastrous dilatory policy in Germany, was not the man to hesitate when he had the power to act. In the Netherlands the Lutheran heresy was met on its appearance by a relentless hostility, which waxed more and more fierce as Charles's reign proceeded. The Inquisition, already engaged in its hateful activity in Spain, was established in the Netherlands also, and confiscations, imprisonments, and burnings at the stake became common occurrences. Still Protestantism refused to disappear. The original Lutheran opinions were even strengthened by the invasion of Calvinism, and at the end of Charles's reign heresy was more firmly established than ever before.

That end came on October 25, 1555, when Charles, broken by his failure in Germany, resigned his crown, in a ceremonial session of the States-General of the Netherlands, to his son and heir, Philip II. Unfortunately Philip, owing to his harsh Spanish qualities, was even less likely than his father to find a settlement for the religious troubles of the Netherlands. The Inquisition was immediately spurred on to greater activity than before, and the fagot fires lighted for the victims of the new faith fairly wrapped the country in flames. Though the majority of the people were still Catholic, they shared with the Protestants the aversion to the senseless policy of the Inquisition, and nursed a smothered discontent which boded a storm.

But there was other work in the world for Philip besides persecuting the Dutch Protestants. He argued that it would be a fine feather in his cap, if he could close, by a decisive stroke, his father's long wars with France. He therefore prepared for a vigorous campaign. Having defeated the French at Saint Quentin (1557) and at Gravelines (1558), and having, in consequence, disposed them to a settlement, he concluded with them the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). This peace ended for the present the long rivalry of France and Spain concerning Italy

The accession of Philip, 1555.

The activity of the Inquisition.

Philip's war with France, 1556-59.

and the Netherlands, by the admission of Spanish supremacy in both those countries. This accomplished, Philip resolved to go to Spain. Leaving his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, as regent in the Netherlands, he sailed away (1559), never to return.

The regent, Margaret, was herself a fairly moderate person, but the Spanish councillors who controlled her were under orders from Philip to maintain the existing system of rigour. The alienation of the people therefore went on apace. The nobles, of whom prince William of Orange and count Egmont were the leaders, were angered by the attempt to replace their traditional influence by that of foreign favourites, while the people generally were incensed by the presence among them *Increasing of Spanish troops and by the increased activity* of the abominable Inquisition. Discontent was plainly ripening to revolt.

The signal for the rising was given by the nobles. In 1565 some of the more hot-headed members of the aristocracy *The protest of the nobles.* formed a league, the purpose of which was to secure the abolition of the Inquisition, operating, as they put it, "to the great dishonour of the name of God and to the total ruin of the Netherlands." In the same document in which they made this complaint they avowed their continued allegiance to the king. It was not the dynasty against which they protested, but the abuse which the dynasty *The "beggars."* upheld. On April 5, 1566, three hundred of them marched on foot through Brussels, which served as the capital of the country, to the palace of the regent, to lay a statement of their grievances in her hands. In a banquet that followed they took, amidst a scene of unbounded enthusiasm, the name of beggars (*gueux*), which, so the legend runs, was flung at them insultingly by one of the favourites of the regent's court, as they presented themselves with their petition.

The bold act of the "beggars" was received with general applause. Unfortunately it unchained also the long-repressed indignation of the people. The government of the regent

was set at nought, and to all who had suffered oppression it seemed that the time had come when the restraints that had weighed upon them should be cast off. At length the excitement, carefully nursed by Calvinistic exhorters, culminated in a furious outbreak. The Roman Catholic churches were invaded, their pictured windows, their saintly images were broken, their crosses and altars were shattered to fragments. The ruin of art wrought by these iconoclasts was incalculable. It was weeks before the fury spent itself, and months before the government rallied enough of the orderly elements to repress the insurgents. Philip had received his warning. Would he understand it?

The general insurrection, 1566.

Iconoclasm.

It is very possible that the abolition of the Inquisition and the proclamation of religious tolerance, which the nobles demanded, would have put an end to all trouble. But these ideas were foreign to the rulers of that day, and seemed nothing less than deadly sin to a bigoted Papist like Philip. Instead of assisting the regent in confirming the recently established order, he planned a fearful vengeance. One of his best generals was the duke of Alva. Soldier and bigot, he was the typical Spaniard of his day, animated with blind devotion to his king and to his faith. Him, Philip commissioned with the punishment of the Netherlands, and in the summer of 1567, Alva arrived at Brussels at the head of an excellent corps of 10,000 Spaniards. Terror marched in his van, and Orange, just before the arrival of the troops, crossed the border into safety.

Philip plans revenge, and sends Alva, 1567.

Alva immediately began his work of military repression. A Council, famous in history as the Council of Blood, was set up to ferret out all who had taken part in the late disorders. Thousands were seized by the police and perished on the scaffold; thousands fled from the country. Count Egmont, who had refused to flee with Orange, was executed as a warning to the discontented nobles.

The Council of Blood.

While the country was afflicted with this scourge, William of

Orange¹ was busying himself with plans for its liberation. He now began that glorious career by which he founded the liberties of his country and became its hero and martyr. There have been many better generals and some better statesmen; what makes William memorable is his steadfastness in adversity, which has won for him the name of William the Silent.

In the spring of 1568 William, with the aid of such moneys as he could get together, collected an army for the purpose of invading the Netherlands. He counted on being assisted by a rising within, but in this he proved mistaken, for the people, terrified by Alva's severity, did not as much as budge. Alva therefore, commanding a superior infantry, had no difficulty in meeting William's forces and scattering them to the winds.

*William's
campaign
of 1568 a
failure.*

But the advantage of his position Alva himself soon threw away; he bent the bow till it snapped. In 1571, feeling sure of the country and urged by the needs of his treasury, he ventured to propose an unheard-of and appalling tax, called the tenth penny. By this an impost of ten per cent. was put upon every commercial transaction, including the simple daily purchases for the household. Indignation flared up once more. There was only one answer for the merchants to make, and they made it by closing their shops and suspending business.

*The tenth
penny.*

At this juncture occurred the first successful feat of arms by the Dutch rebels—the feat from which dates the general movement for Dutch independence. The “beggars of the sea,” hardy Dutch free-booters, swept down suddenly upon the little town of Brill, and took it. The whole country was electrified by this success, and now the internal rising for which Orange had looked for four years in vain took place spontaneously, and town after town, especially of the provinces of Holland and Zealand, drove out its Spanish garrison. Therewith these two

*First suc-
cess of the
Dutch
rebels, 1572.*

¹ Orange was a small principality on the Rhone in France, which William's family had acquired by marriage.

provinces had put themselves in the front of the opposition, and now calling William to their aid, in the capacity of Stadtholder or governor, prepared to resist to the utmost.

But Alva, not easily cowed, prepared immediately to stamp out the new rebellion. With his splendid Spanish infantry, he won a number of successes, and Mechlin, Haarlem, and several places which he recaptured had each its tale to tell of bloody and cruel reprisals. But this time the Dutch answered courage with courage, and soon ferocity with ferocity. The success at Brille was the beginning of a long war.

Alva's incapacity to deal with the situation efficiently was soon apparent to friend and foe. Six years of government (1567-73) by Council of Blood and Inquisition had ended in unqualified disaster, and tired himself of staring at the ruin about him he demanded (1573) his recall.

His successor as Spanish governor-general was Requesens (1573-76). Requesens was a sensible, moderate man, who might have done something if matters had not gone so far under Alva. But although he abolished the Council of Blood and proclaimed an amnesty, everybody continued to look upon him with distrust. So he had to proceed with the military subjugation of the revolted provinces. The most notable event of his lieutenancy was the siege of Leyden (1573-74). When the city seemed for failure of provisions to be lost, William of Orange resolved on an extreme measure: he ordered that the dykes be cut. As the waters of the sea rushed over the fields, the "beggars" crowded after in their ships, until their heroic efforts brought them to the wall of the city. The incident well illustrates the desperation of the Dutch resistance.

The death of Requesens, which occurred in 1576, was the indirect cause of a further extension of the revolt. As yet it had been confined to the provinces of the north, which had generally adopted the Protestantism of Calvin, and to such occasional cities of the south as inclined toward the same faith. Revolt

The internal rising is sustained.

Alva's recall, 1573.

The siege of Leyden, 1574.

The death of Requesens and the Pacification of Ghent, 1576.

from the Spanish yoke seemed to follow wherever Protestantism had gone before. The grievances of the southern provinces against Spain were certainly as great as those of the north, but as the southerners clung to the Roman faith, they always retained some affection for the Spanish rule. For a brief moment, however, following the death of Requesens, north and south, Teuton and Kelt, Protestant and Catholic—in a word, the United Netherlands—bound themselves together in one resistance. The occasion was furnished by the general horror inspired by the Spanish soldiery, which, left leaderless upon the death of Requesens, looted what cities it could, and indulged in particular horrors at the rich metropolis of Antwerp. The indignation aroused by this lawlessness united the country, and in the Pacification of Ghent (1576) north and south proclaimed their common interests and prepared to make a common stand against the oppressor.

It was the most auspicious moment of the revolution, but it was not destined to bear fruit. Provincial jealousies and religious distrust, fomented by the shrewd governors, Don John of Austria (1576-78) and the duke of Parma (1578-92), who succeeded Requesens, soon annulled the Pacification of Ghent, and drove a wedge between the north and south, the result of which we still trace to-day, in the existence of a Protestant Holland and a Roman Catholic Belgium.

It was especially owing to Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, a most excellent general and diplomat, that the southern provinces were saved for Spain. He was clever enough to flatter their Catholic prejudices and to promise a restoration of their political privileges. If he had not been constantly interfered with by Philip he might even have reconquered the north. Thus with heavy heart William the Silent had gradually to relinquish the hope, extended by the Pacification of Ghent, of a united action of the whole Netherlands against Spain. Still he never wavered in his faith, and soon succeeded, on a smaller scale, in effecting an organization of the revolt. Hitherto the re-

North and south goes each its own way.

The Union of Utrecht, 1579.

sistance had been left almost exclusively to the separate provinces. In 1579, the Protestant provinces of the north, finally seven in number (Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Groningen, and Friesland), formed, for the purpose of an improved defence, the Union of Utrecht. The articles of the Union of Utrecht, which formed the constitution of the Dutch Republic well into modern times, mark the entrance of a new state into history.

Philip had already seen that William the Silent was the backbone of the resistance, and that by good or bad means the leader must be got rid of if the revolt was to be mastered. When bribes failed to detach William *Philip's ban.* from the cause of freedom, the Spanish sovereign published a ban against him, declaring his life forfeit, and putting a price upon his head. In that fanatical age, many men were seduced by such an offer. It is, therefore, no cause for wonder that dastardly attempts upon William's life should have become common occurrences. At last Balthasar Gérard, a *William* Roman Catholic enthusiast from Burgundy, fatally *murdered,* shot him as he was coming down the stairway of *1584.* his palace at Delft (July 10, 1584).

William's death was a heavy blow to the cause of the Dutch, especially coming at the time it did. The duke of Parma was just then winning victory after victory, and constantly narrowing the territory of his enemies; in fact hardly more *William's* than Holland and Zealand still held out against *successor.* him. Nevertheless, these two provinces did not abate their resistance. Maurice, the talented seventeen-year-old son of William, became Stadtholder and military commander, and at his side there rose to influence, as Pensionary or Prime Minister, the wise, statesmanlike John of Barneveld.

Still, the new Dutch Republic would hardly have survived if help had not come from without. Already during William's lifetime frequent efforts had been made to interest *Help from* France and England in the war, but neither the one *England.* nor the other could be persuaded to throw in its lot wholly with the Netherlands. However, English Protestant opinion

had loudly declared for the Dutch, and Elizabeth, noting from what quarter the wind blew, began to despatch secret money help to William. Finally, in 1585, she sent her first open aid—a body of English troops under command of her favourite, the earl of Leicester.

Although Leicester proved thoroughly incompetent, and had, in 1587, to retire in disgrace, his interference brought relief, and probably through its consequences saved the Dutch.

Philip turns upon England. Abandoning the prey which he had almost captured, Philip II. turned furiously upon the English.

For the next years, he seems to have forgotten his original enterprise; first the English, and then the French Huguenots engrossed his thoughts. There follow the disaster of the Armada (1588), the campaigns in France against the Protestant Henry of Navarre (1589-98), and in general such a dissipation and ruin of the Spanish power as made it forever impossible for Spain to return, with anything like the old energy, to the attack upon the young Republic. However, Philip II. stubbornly held out against the Netherlands. Even after the death (1592), of his great general, the duke of Parma, whose advice had almost always been good and had almost never been followed, he continued the war. Philip III., who was as proud as his father, succeeded him (1598), and he too refused at first, with the same obstinacy, to listen to peace. But all this time the Dutch fortunes were plainly in the

The victories of Maurice. ascendant, and while Maurice, who was a gallant soldier, especially skilled in conducting a siege, won back from the Spaniards place after place, the brave Dutch sailors swept home and foreign waters clear of Spanish fleets.

Under these conditions Spain at last saw herself forced to come to terms with her revolted subjects. Too arrogant

The Twelve Years' Truce and the Peace of Westphalia. to acknowledge herself defeated and once for all recognize the Republic, she would do no more than conclude a Twelve Years' Truce (1609). It was not the end, but as good as the end. When the truce was over (1621) the Thirty Years' War was raging in Europe,

and although Spain tried to make the confusion serve her purposes, the firm resistance offered by the hardy little nation rendered the second effort at the subjugation of the Dutch even more vain than the first. When the Peace of Westphalia (1648) put an end to the long German war, Spain at last declared herself ready for the great humiliation. Together with Germany and the other signatory powers of that famous peace-instrument she acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Republic.

The domestic affairs of the new Republic revolved, from the Union of Utrecht through the next two centuries, around the interesting question of rivalry between the provincial *Domestic* and the central authorities. The Union of Utrecht *struggles.* had established as central authorities a Council of State and a States-General, but their jurisdiction was severely limited, and they were jealously watched by the seven local governments. To this question of unity was added what turned out to be largely a class conflict. The political power was reserved throughout the provinces to the wealthy middle class, but naturally the common people began to demand rights, and that demand soon acquired an immense importance through the support of the Orange family. The House of Orange urged by the people toward monarchy and grimly opposed by the burgher oligarchy—that is the confrontation of Dutch parties for several centuries.

The commercial and intellectual advance of the Republic, during the course of the war, remains a remarkable feature of the period. It was as if the heroic struggle gave the nation an irresistible energy, which it could *Commercial and intellectual prosperity.* turn with success into any channel. The little seaboard state, which human valour had made habitable almost against the decrees of nature, became, in the seventeenth century, not only one of the great political powers of Europe, but actually the leader in commerce and in certain branches of industry; contributed, beyond any other nation, to contemporary science; and produced a school of painting, the glories of which are hardly inferior to those of the Italian

schools of the Renaissance. Such names as Hugo Grotius (d. 1645), the founder of international law; as Spinoza (d. 1677), the philosopher; as Rembrandt (d. 1674) and Frans Hals (d. 1666), the painters, furnish sufficient support to the claim of the United Provinces to a leading position in the history of civilization. Their trade was particularly extensive with the East Indies, and it was here that there were developed the most permanent and productive of the Dutch colonies, although there were such also, at one time, in Asia, Africa, and America. The city of Amsterdam, in the province of Holland, was the heart of the vast Dutch trade, and, much as modern London, performed the banking business and controlled the money market of the entire world.

It was not a pleasant lot that awaited the southern provinces, which had remained Roman Catholic and had docilely submitted to the Spanish rule. These *The decay of the Spanish provinces.* were henceforth governed from Spain as the Spanish Netherlands, and having lost their political spirit, soon lost, too, their material prosperity, and were sapped of their energy and vitality.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE TO THE RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENTS OF 1598 (EDICT OF NANTES) AND 1629

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IN the year 1515 Francis I. ascended the French throne. Ever since 1494, when Charles VIII. had invaded Italy, the eyes of French monarchs had been riveted upon the peninsula. They seemed not to be able to give up the dream of the south which filled their minds, and although driven from their conquests again and again, they always plucked up courage to return to the attack. Francis, who was young and filled with knightly ambition, had hardly acquired his crown, when he hurried across the Alps. At Marignano (1515) he won a splendid victory over the Swiss mercenaries of the duke of Milan, and gained, as a result, the possession of Milan itself. But the success naturally excited the jealousy of Spain, and as soon as Charles V. had, at the Diet of Worms (1521), settled the affairs of Germany to his fancy, *The rivalry of Francis and Charles.* he undertook to drive Francis out of Milan. There followed the long duel between Francis and Charles, the

incidents of which have been narrated in connection with the history of Germany. The student will remember that the most notable events of the wars of these two monarchs were the battle of Pavia, where Francis was captured (1525), and the sack of Rome (1527).

In addition to this matter of the war with Spain over Italy, there are also to be considered, in connection with the reign of

The beginnings of the Reformation. Francis, the beginnings of the Reformation in France. Francis himself was a child of the artistic spirit of the Renaissance, and brought

neither interest nor understanding to bear upon the questions of religious reform. But it was different with his people, who, of course, could not remain uninfluenced by the greatest matter of the age.

The beginnings of the Reformation in France are quite independent of Luther. In France, as elsewhere, the Revival of Learning had brought a desire for reform in state and Church, and at the opening of the new century certain select
The circle of reformers. spirits were beginning to formulate their protests against existing conditions. At the time when Luther was stirring up Germany, a small circle of reformers, of whom the venerable Lefèvre is the most important, had already begun to preach the abolition of abuses, and had acquired a considerable influence.

This influence the Roman Catholic seminary of Paris, the Sorbonne, which looked upon itself as the guardian of the orthodox faith, undertook to combat. Nevertheless,
Francis inaugurates the policy of persecution. the opposition of this pedantic institution counted for little until the king was brought to its side. That occurred after the battle of Pavia (1525), when Francis needed the help of the pope and the favour of his Roman Catholic subjects to recover from the results of his defeat and captivity. The first executions of heretics in France were ordered at this time. Henceforward Francis wavered in his attitude, but grew on the whole increasingly intolerant.

The successor of Francis was his son, Henry II. (1547-59). He was a different man from his affable father, and his sombre

character may be taken as an indication of the age of Roman Catholic fanaticism which was approaching. On *Henry II.* the day of his coronation Henry II. promised that *continues the persecutions.* "he would exterminate from his kingdom all whom the Church denounced." If he did not succeed in this pious enterprise it was because the spirit of resistance, animating the Protestants, was stronger even than the spirit of cruelty which filled the king. Edict after edict was published against the heretics, and there were many executions, but the only result was that the faith confirmed by martyrs' blood struck its roots into the hearts of a constantly increasing band of Protestant worshippers.

The bigoted Henry died in 1559. Up to his death the Protestants of France had suffered their persecutions in patience; they had not preached revolt nor sought *The Protestants begin to take a hand in politics.* political influence. But from the mere religious sect they had been, they now advanced to the rôle of a political party. This change was due in a large measure to the political confusion that ensued on the unexpected death of Henry II.

At the death of Henry, his son, Francis II., who was but sixteen years old, and physically and mentally feeble, succeeded to the throne. The real responsibilities of rule he was, of course, unable to assume, nor could his wife, who was Mary, queen of Scots, *The situation on the accession of Francis II.* a very intelligent woman, undertake them for him, because of her extreme youth. The power, therefore, fell into the hands of Mary's two uncles of the family *The Guises.* of Guise, duke Francis, the soldier, and cardinal Lorraine, a churchman.

There were those, however, who believed their own rights were infringed upon by this domination of the Guises at court and throughout the country. First to consider is the mother of Francis II., Catharine de' Medici, *Catharine de' Medici.* a member of the famous house that ruled at Florence. To an inordinate love of power she added some of the characteristic qualities of her nation — a rapid in-

telligence, diplomatic skill, and an entire unscrupulousness. The religious fanaticism with which she has been sometimes credited has been much exaggerated, and if she plays a sinister rôle on several occasions in the subsequent religious troubles, it can be intelligently explained by sole reference to her political ambitions. But as intrigues and secrecy, and not open and frank enmity, were Catharine's political methods, the most earnest opposition to the Guises came not from her, but from the Bourbons. The House of
The Bourbons. Bourbon was a collateral branch of the royal family, and its leading members at this time were, Anthony, king of Navarre, and Louis, prince of Condé. Anthony was graced with the royal title, not in his own right, but because he had married the heiress of the small kingdom of Navarre, on the border between France and Spain. Not unnaturally the Bourbons thought that they had a better claim to direct the policy of the kingdom than the Guises, and when they found themselves systematically excluded from power, they sought to bring-about a league of all the opposition elements. Now among these elements were also the persecuted Huguenots,¹ and out of the common hatred of the Huguenots and the Bourbons there grew, before long, an intimacy and an alliance. Anthony in a faithless, vacillating spirit, Condé more firmly, accepted the reformed faith; and, many of their aristocratic supporters following their example, it came to pass that Protestantism in France became gradually connected with political intrigue.

Of all these high-stationed Huguenots, the one man who has won the respect of friend and foe is Gaspard de Coligny.

Coligny. He was related to the great family of Montmorency, and bore the dignity of admiral of France. Though he was not without political ambition, he merits the high praise of having been a man to whom his faith was a thing not to be bought and sold, and of having served it with single-mindedness to his death.

¹ The term Huguenots was probably first applied in derision to the French Protestants. Neither origin nor meaning has been satisfactorily explained.

Out of these relations of the factions around the throne grew the intrigues which led to the long religious wars in France. It is useless to try to put the blame for them upon one or the other side. Given a weakened royal executive, the implacable religious temper which marks the parties of the sixteenth century, and a horde of powerful, turbulent, and greedy nobles, and civil war is a necessary consequence. The reader is now invited to note the leading circumstances connected with the outbreak.

The sickly Francis II. died in December, 1560. Thereupon his widow, Mary, finding her rôle in France exhausted, left for Scotland, and the Guises, who owed their position largely to her, presently discovered that their power had come to an end. The successor of Francis was his brother, Charles IX., a weak boy but ten years old, during whose minority his mother, Catharine de' Medici, undertook to act as regent. Thus Catharine at last realized her dream of power. But her new position was far from easy, as Guises and Bourbons alike watched her with jealousy. She resolved, therefore, with much moderation, upon a policy of balance between the hostile factions; called representatives of both into her council; and published an edict, securing to the Huguenots a limited toleration. It was the first effort of the kind that had been made in France to settle the religious difficulties. Its ending in failure proved again, if proof were necessary, that no compromise could satisfy men who, like the Protestants and Roman Catholics of the sixteenth century, were passionately set on realizing their own ideas without the abatement of a jot or tittle. While the Roman Catholics were embittered by the extent of Catharine's concessions, the Protestants grumbled at the remaining limitations, and among the more fanatical followers of the two parties, sometimes without provocation, there occurred sharp conflicts, frequently ending in terrible excesses.

One of these conflicts, the Massacre of Vassy (1562), put an end to hesitation and led to war. The duke of Guise was passing through the country with a company of armed

*Civil war
inevitable.*

*Charles IX.
(1560-74);
Catharine
as regent.*

retainers, when he happened, at Vassy, upon a band of Huguenots, assembled in a barn for worship. Sharp words led to an encounter, and before the duke rode away, forty Protestants lay dead upon the ground and many more had been wounded. A fearful indignation seized their brothers in the faith, and when the duke of Guise was not immediately called to account for his breach of the law, Condé and Coligny armed and took the field.

Thus were inaugurated the religious wars of France, which were not brought to a conclusion until 1598, by the Edict of Nantes, and which in their consequences continued to trouble the country well into the next century. For our purpose it is sufficient to look upon the period from 1562 to 1598 as one war, though it is true that there were frequent suspensions of arms, supporting themselves upon sham truces and dishonest treaties.¹ The war, like all the religious wars of the century, was waged with inhuman barbarity, and conflagrations, pillagings, massacres, and assassinations blot every stage of its progress. Protestants and Catholics became brutalised, and vied with each other in their efforts to turn their country into a desert.

When the Treaty of St Germain (1570), granting the Protestants the largest toleration which they had yet enjoyed, temporarily closed the chapter of conflicts, many of the original leaders had passed away. Anthony of Navarre had been killed in battle against his former friends, the Huguenots, whom he had treacherously deserted (1562); the duke of Guise had been assassinated (1563); and Condé had been unfairly slain in a charge of horse (1569). The head of the Huguenot party was now Anthony's young son, king Henry of Navarre, but the intellectual leadership fell, for the present, upon Coligny.

Meanwhile, a moderate party had formed in France, which

¹ Eight wars have been distinguished as follows: First war, 1562-63; second war, 1567-68; third war, 1568-70 (ended by the peace of St Germain); fourth war, 1572-73; fifth war, 1574-76; sixth war, 1577; seventh war, 1579-80; eighth war (called the War of the three Henries), 1585-89, which continued in another form until the Edict of Nantes (1598).

tried to make the Peace of St Germain the beginning of a definite settlement. It was only too clear that the bloodshed which was draining the country of its strength, ruined both parties and brought profit to none but the enemies of France. The more temperate of both sides, Coligny prominent among them, began to see the folly of the struggle, and king Charles himself, who was now of age, inclined to their view. And yet such were the mutual suspicions and animosities, that the effort to remove all cause of quarrel precipitated the most horrible of all the incidents of the war, the Massacre of St Bartholomew.

Growth of a moderate policy.

After the Peace of St Germain, Coligny had come up to Paris and had rapidly acquired a great influence with the king. The young monarch seemed to be disposed to put an end for all time to internal dissension, and to turn the strength of the united country against the old enemy of France, Spain. For this purpose he arranged, as a preliminary step, a marriage between his sister Margaret and young Henry of Navarre. Joyfully responding to the invitation of king Charles, the Huguenots poured in swarms into Paris to attend the wedding of their chief, which was celebrated on August 18, 1572.

The wedding of Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois.

The wedding seemed to inaugurate an era of Protestant triumphs. Coligny's star, shedding the promise of toleration, was rising steadily; that of the Guises and their ultra-Catholic supporters, standing for the principle of no-compromise, was as steadily setting. But suddenly the orthodox party, which, seeing ruin ahead of it, had fallen into a desperate mood, ready for any undertaking, received an unexpected addition. Catharine de' Medici, originally hardly more attached to the Guises than to the Huguenots, because primarily solicitous only about her own power, had lately lost all influence with the king. She knew well whither it had gone, and fixed the hatred of a revengeful and passionate nature upon Coligny. Burning to regain her power, she now put herself in communication with

The alliance of Catharine of Medici and the Guises against Coligny.

the Guises. On August 22, as Coligny was entering his house, a ball, meant for his breast, struck him in the arm. The king, who hurried in alarm to the bedside of his councillor, was filled with indignation, and swore to take a summary revenge upon the assassin and his accomplices.

The terror of discovery and punishment, which now racked Catharine and the Guises, drove them to devise some means by which they might deflect the king's vengeance. On the spur of

The Massacre of St Bartholomew, 1572.

the moment, as it were, they planned the Massacre of St Bartholomew. This famous massacre is, therefore, not to be considered, as was once the custom, the carefully laid plot of the Roman

Catholic heads of Europe, but rather as the bloodthirsty improvisation of a desperate band. Catharine de' Medici and the Guises were its authors, and the fervidly Roman Catholic population of Paris was the instrument of their will. How the king's consent was got, when all was ready, would be difficult to understand, if we did not know that he was weak and cowardly, and ready for any measure when hoodwinked and terrorized. On St Bartholomew's day (August 24), in the early hours of a Sunday morning, the tocsin was sounded from the churches of Paris. At the signal, the Roman Catholic citizens slipped noiselessly from their houses, and surrounded the residences which had been previously designated by a chalk-mark as the homes of Huguenots. Coligny was one of the first victims of the ensuing fury, Henry of Guise himself presiding at the butchery of his Huguenot rival. That night the streets flowed with blood, and for many days after the provinces emulated the example of the capital. Henry of Navarre escaped death only by temporarily renouncing his faith. The victims of this fearful exhibition of fanaticism amounted approximately to 2,000 in Paris, and 8,000 in the rest of France. We are helped in understanding the spirit of the time when we hear that the Roman world, the pope and Philip of Spain at its head, made no effort to conceal its delight at this facile method of getting rid of adversaries.

War with all its dreary incidents straightway flamed up

again. In 1574 Charles IX. died, out of remorse, as the Huguenots were fain to believe, for his share in the *Henry III.*, great crime of St Bartholomew. His brother, 1574-89. Henry III., succeeded him on the throne. A new element of interest was introduced into the struggle only when the death of Henry's last brother, the duke of Alençon, and his own failure to have heirs, involved, with the religious question, the question of the succession.

By the law of the realm the crown would have to pass, upon Henry's death, to the nearest male relative, who was Henry of Navarre, head of the collateral branch of *Prospect of the succession of Henry of Navarre.* Bourbon. But Henry was a Huguenot, the enemy of the faith of the vast majority of his future subjects. When therefore his succession became probable, Henry of Guise and his followers formed the Holy League, which pledged itself to the interests of the Church, even against the king. As the Holy League satisfied the current fanaticism of the day, it became the rallying-point of Roman Catholic France, and before long Henry III. found at his side a man more really king than himself—his former friend and present head of the League, Henry of Guise. In measure as he tried to live up to his royal duty of mediating between the contending factions and establishing peace, he found himself deserted by the League, which would have no peace. France was, in consequence, soon divided into three camps, the ultras of the two religious parties, headed respectively by Henry of Guise and Henry of Navarre, and between them a moderate party headed by king Henry.

There follows the phase of the struggle known as the war of the Three Henries (1585-89), which steeped the country in new confusion. In December, 1588, king Henry, *The war of the Three Henries.* who had tried all possible shifts to secure peace, even to the point of resigning the real power into the hands of the head of the League, indignantly resolved to put an end to his humiliation. He invited Henry of Guise to his cabinet, and there had him treacherously despatched by his guard. But the League now turned in horror from the

murderer, and Paris and Roman Catholic France declared for his deposition. In his despair the king fled to Henry of Navarre, and was just about to advance with his Huguenot subjects upon his capital, when a fanatical Dominican monk forced admission to his presence and killed him with a knife (August, 1589). Thus the House of Valois had come to an end. The question was now simply between Henry of Navarre, the rightful claimant to the crown, and the League, which would have none of him.

The new Henry, Henry IV., first king of the House of Bourbon, was a brave soldier, an intelligent ruler, and an affable gentleman. He was the idol of his followers, *Henry IV. and the League.* but his followers were only a small part of France.

The attachment of the Roman Catholic majority he knew could only be won slowly, and certainly not by force. Therefore he undertook with wisdom and patience to assure them of the loyalty of his intentions and win their recognition. If the League could only have found a plausible rival for the throne, Henry might have been annihilated; but his claim was incontrovertible, and that was his strength. For the present no one thought of disarming. Henry won a number of engagements, notably the battle of Ivry (1590), but the League, supported by Philip of Spain, could not be scattered.

At last Henry, weary of the interminable struggle, resolved to take a decisive step. He abjured his faith and begged to be re-admitted into the Roman Church (1593). *Henry abjures Protestantism.* His calculation of the consequences of this measure proved to be correct, for he was almost immediately recognized throughout France, the

League fell apart, and the war ceased. In February, 1594, Henry was solemnly crowned at Chartres, and in March he took possession of his capital amidst the unbounded rejoicings of those same Parisians who had clamoured, on St Bartholomew's day, for his head.

Opinion has always been much divided on Henry's conversion. But there is no necessity for lingering over it long. It was purely a political measure, and a well-calculated

one, as the result shows, and though Henry professed before the priest that the change was with him a matter *Henry's* of conscience, we know that the conversion sat *justification.* lightly upon him. "Paris is well worth a mass," was the light-hearted comment he offered his friends to explain his defection.

The first important business of the recognized king was to secure his country the benefit of a permanent religious pacification. The edict designed for this end was published at Nantes, April, 1598, and although it was not a decree of toleration such as satisfies our *The Edict of Nantes, 1598.* modern feeling, it was the best the time could afford. The Edict of Nantes gave the great nobles and the people in certain specified places permission to establish a Protestant worship; furthermore, it placed the Huguenots on a level with the Roman Catholics before the law; and finally, to reassure the party of the minority, and as a kind of guarantee of its promises, it made over to the Huguenots a number of fortified towns, of which La Rochelle was the most important. It was this last measure that later caused a renewal of the civil war, for it was a dangerous concession and made the Huguenots an independent armed power within the state.

In the same year (1598) Henry closed the war with Spain, due to Spanish interference in behalf of the League. Though he was not unwilling to proceed against his meddling neighbour with all vigour, he saw that his country was for the present in no condition for foreign conquest, and that he would better reserve his strength for the future. So he signed the Peace of Vervins (1598) on the basis of mutual restitutions. *Henry ends also the war with Spain, 1598.*

Now that France was at peace within and without, Henry seriously set about the task of building up again his ruined country. With the aid of his Protestant minister, the duke of Sully, he re-established the finances, and advanced commerce and industry, and only when, after years of labour, he saw himself in possession of an ordered and flourishing commonwealth, did *Internal government of Henry and Sully.*

he again turn his attention to foreign affairs. The House of Hapsburg, governing through its two branches the dominions of Spain and Austria, was still to his mind the great enemy of France. That France and the House of Bourbon must grow at the expense of Spain and the House of Hapsburg became Henry's fixed resolution. In 1610, a local quarrel in Germany was just about to furnish him with a desired pretext to interfere against the Hapsburgs, when he was killed by the dagger of a half-insane Roman Catholic fanatic, named Ravallac. To this day king Henry is dear to the French people, and his popularity has never been eclipsed by that of any of his successors.

At Henry's death his son, Louis XIII. (1610-43), was but nine years old. A regency was therefore established under Marie de' Medici, Henry's second wife. As Marie de' Medici was a weak woman, the puppet of favourites, the nobility and the Huguenots, whom Henry had vigorously kept within bounds, again raised their heads, and threatened to involve France in new civil wars.

If France was saved from this calamity, it was due, and solely due, to cardinal Richelieu. When this churchman became the leading minister in 1624, the queen-regent had already been supplanted by the king, but the change had not brought with it an improvement in the situation, owing to the fact that the king was indolent and commonplace. Richelieu was confronted by a heavy task. Luckily the king fully appreciated the talents of his minister, and left him in control until his death, a period of eighteen years (1624-42). The extraordinary power enjoyed by Richelieu was, on the whole, put by him at the service of an enlightened patriotism. He set himself two aims: the first, to strengthen the national monarchy, for which purpose he must sap the political power of the nobility and the Huguenots; the second, to enlarge France territorially, in pursuance of which end he must renew the wars with his country's old rival, Spain and the House of Hapsburg.

The political power of the nobility Richelieu did not succeed in reducing without resistance. He planned to bring the nobles under the law of the land, and when they protested by means of plots and insurrections, he executed a number of them and thus frightened the rest into obedience. *He curbs the nobles.*

More serious was the case of the Huguenots. The Edict of Nantes had, in addition to toleration, which was entirely just, given them political power—an army and fortified towns. Since the death of Henry IV. they had frequently created disturbances, and certain of their measures indicated that they were planning to secede from France. That Richelieu was resolved not to suffer. He would leave them their freedom of worship—for Richelieu, although a churchman, was not a fanatic—but their pretension to independence would have to be surrendered. His campaign against the Huguenots was carefully planned, and culminated in the siege of La Rochelle (1628). La Rochelle was the greatest of the Protestant strongholds, and although the Rochellese, aided by the English, defended themselves with heroism, they were obliged in the end to deliver themselves into the cardinal's hands. Although victorious, Richelieu remained true to his principle of toleration, and signed a peace, first with the Rochellese, and later with the other Huguenots, in which he secured them all the privileges of the Edict of Nantes, barring the exceptional political power. *He curbs the Huguenots.*
La Rochelle (1628) and the pacification of 1629.

The domestic troubles of France being thus smoothed over, and all classes having been brought under the law of the king, Richelieu could turn to the second part of his programme: the humiliation of the House of Hapsburg. A circumstance most opportune for his policy was that Germany was then convulsed by her Thirty Years' War. With the instinct of the statesman Richelieu felt that if he helped the Protestants of Germany against the Roman Catholics backed by the House of Hapsburg (Emperor and Spain), he would sooner or later acquire some permanent advantages *Enmity to Hapsburg.*

for France. His gradual interference finally secured his king the balance of power in the German war, and *France in the Thirty Years' War.* made France practical dictator of Europe when the Peace of Westphalia (1648) ended the struggle. Richelieu did not live to see this result (he died 1642), but the advantages which France secured on that occasion may be written down to his statesmanlike conduct of the government.

Richelieu is sometimes called the creator of the absolute monarchy of France. That is an exaggeration, for the French kings had for centuries been working toward that end, but though not the creator, Richelieu certainly *Richelieu stands for absolutism.* was the promoter of absolutism. Attention has already been called to his systematic abasement of the nobility. Further he refused to call, and thus permitted to fall into disuse, the States-General, the old feudal parliament of the realm. This body was not assembled from 1614 to 1789, and during that period the king's power was free from very effective check. Thus, although the benefits conferred by Richelieu upon France was great, it is a question whether he is not partially responsible for the ills which, in the eighteenth century, grew out of the unlimited royal prerogative.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR AND THE PEACE OF WEST-PHALIA

LITERATURE.—Wakeman, *The Ascendancy of France, 1552-1715*.
Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War*. (Epochs).
Gindely, *The Thirty Years' War*.
Fletcher, *Gustavus Adolphus*. (Heroes).
Schiller, *Wallenstein's Lager; Die Piccolomini; Wallenstein's Tod* (dramas).
Lodge, *Richelieu*.

THE Peace of Augsburg (1555) ended the first religious war of Germany, by an attempt to accommodate the claims of the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, but the attempt did not and could not succeed. The article, called the Ecclesiastical Reservation, which tried to protect the Roman Church by forbidding all future secularizations of her territory, had hardly been adopted when triumphant Protestantism infringed upon it at every point. The Papists were thus furnished with a standing complaint against their rivals. And other difficulties were not wanting. Shortly after the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinism spread through the south and west of Germany, but as only Lutheranism was mentioned in the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinism had no legal basis. Thus Calvinism led a very precarious existence.

It is a wonder that in spite of the incessant quarrels of the three parties, which filled all the Diets with their clamour, the peace was so long preserved. Probably jealousy of one another and fear of the consequences of the sanguinary struggle which would follow, kept them from proceeding to extremes. Meanwhile, the long truce which outlasted the century proved, at least for

The religious quarrels in Germany continue.

Protestantism continues for a time its triumphs.

a time, favourable to the Protestants. Lutherans and Calvinists alike were little impeded in their propaganda, and soon the whole German north had become solidly Protestant, while in the south, Austria and Bavaria themselves, states which were looked upon as mainstays of the Roman faith, were becoming dangerously infiltrated with the heretical poison. It seemed that the Lutherans and Calvinists would only have to cease their mutual bickerings, and organize their action, and Roman Catholicism would be driven out of Germany.

But organize the Protestants would not, and soon the Roman Catholics, arousing themselves from the lethargy into which they had fallen, gathered their forces at the Council of Trent, under the leadership of the Jesuits, and boldly undertook the reconquest of Germany. From the time of emperor Rudolph II. (1576-1612), a new Catholic vigour became noticeable. The Jesuits made their way to the hearths of the ruling Roman Catholic families, and from the courts of Vienna and Munich, as operating centres, gradually widened the sphere of their influence. They did their work with firm zeal and noiseless caution. They served their princely masters as father-confessors or as ministers of state, and in either case controlled their policy; they founded schools and colleges; they sent their missionaries into all hesitating communities, and soon amazed the Protestants with the news of the reconversion to Mother Church of princes and whole territories.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the tension had so increased that the more assertive Protestants established a Union for the purpose of mutual protection (1608). This step was answered the next year (1609) by a similar organization on the part of the Roman Catholics, which they called the Holy League. Henceforth, Germany was divided into the two hostile camps of League and Union, either ready to take the field against the other as soon as the occasion served. Under the circumstances the opinion was becoming general that the terrible suspense about the endless religious questions ought finally to

The Protestant

Union and the Catholic League.

be terminated, one way or another. From the first, however, this difference between the two religious camps ought to be noted, that, while the Roman Catholics were firmly organized under a capable man, Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, the Protestants, owing to their old divisions, gave their Calvinistic president, Frederick, the count palatine of the Rhine, only a wavering support.

The occasion that the two parties were looking for, in order to begin the war, was at length furnished by Bohemia. The kingdom of Bohemia, a state inhabited by Slavs *The affairs of Bohemia.* (Czechs) and Germans, was a part of the possessions of the House of Hapsburg. Lutheranism had got a foothold in Bohemia, and after a period of persecution, the emperor Rudolph had issued (1609) a royal charter in which he agreed to tolerate it. But both Rudolph and his successor, Matthias (1612-19), bore with the Protestants in Bohemia only out of necessity. They continued to vex them even after the decree of toleration, with the result that the Protestants lost patience, and in 1618 rose in revolt. They invaded the castle *The Revolution of 1618.* at Prague, the residence of the emperor's lieutenants, and laying violent hands upon the persons of their oppressors, tossed them roughly out of the window. Then they set up a government of their own. Thus the challenge that the Protestants and Roman Catholics had been awaiting for years was given; the Thirty Years' War had begun.

It is customary to divide the Thirty Years' War, for convenience sake, into four periods—the Bohemian-Palatine Period (1618-23), the Danish Period (1625-29), *The four Periods of the Thirty Years' War.* the Swedish Period (1630-35), and the French-Swedish Period (1635-48). Perhaps the most striking feature of the war is, that, beginning with a local struggle in Bohemia, it should gradually have spread until it included all Europe. The above divisions indicate the widening circles. From Bohemia it first extended over southern Germany (Bohemian-Palatine Period); then slowly, northern Germany and its nearest Protestant neighbour caught fire (Danish Period); and, finally, country upon country was

moved to take part, until the war was no longer a German struggle at all, but assumed, first, the aspect of a general conflict between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, and secondly, the character of a struggle between the two great dynasties, Hapsburg and Bourbon, for the supremacy in Europe.

The Bohemian-Palatine Period.—The insurgents at Prague had hardly set up their government, when they appealed to the Protestant Union for help and prepared themselves for war. In the midst of the first campaign the incapable emperor Matthias died (1619), and the Hapsburg dominions passed to a man of altogether different mould, Ferdinand II.

Ferdinand II. (1619-37), who had been brought up by the Jesuits, united with a narrow Roman Catholic enthusiasm many *Ferdinand* incontestable Christian virtues. He was acknow-
II., 1619-37. ledged on his accession in most of his dominions, and the electors of the empire, although three of the seven electors were Protestant, so far accepted the time-honoured ascendancy of the House of Hapsburg as to choose him emperor. Ferdinand felt that having gained so much, he must now undertake the recovery of Bohemia. He appealed to the Catholic League for help, and Maximilian of Bavaria, its president, readily granted it.

Maximilian and Ferdinand had been brought up together under the same Jesuit influences, and Maximilian, who was *Maximilian* an exceedingly capable man, was always glad to do
of Bavaria. something for the cause of Rome. Moreover, the newest developments in Bohemia had greatly stimulated this eagerness. In order to strengthen their hand, the Bohemian Protestants had just elected (1619) Frederick, count palatine of the Rhine and head of the Protestant Union, king of Bohemia, and Maximilian, as head of the League, felt that he could not let this adversary assume this honour unchallenged.

In the year 1620 there followed the campaign which decided the fate of Bohemia. Frederick, the new king, *The battle of*
the White proved utterly inadequate to his task. At the
Hill, 1620. battle of the White Hill, just outside of Prague, the united forces of the emperor and the League scattered

the army of the rebels to the four winds, and drove Frederick himself into exile. Ferdinand and his Jesuits immediately took possession of Bohemia and forced it back to Roman Catholicism.

The war would now have been over if the Catholics had been contented with their first success. But urged on by his advisers, the emperor allowed himself to be hurried into a new and larger enterprise. He placed the defeated count palatine Frederick under the ban of the Empire, and commissioned Maximilian to occupy his territories, which straggled in loose array along southern Germany from the Rhine to Bohemia, and were known under the name of the Palatinate. Even the Lutherans, hitherto indifferent, became excited at this outrage, and a number of campaigns were necessary before Maximilian's troops could execute the imperial order.

The Palatinate occupied by the Catholics.

And now a new danger arose. Protestants the world over had expressed their grief at the defeat of their co-religionists in Germany, while the European Roman Catholics celebrated the emperor's victory as their own. Religion, it must be remembered, was still the dominant interest of the day. Thus Frederick's misfortunes gradually won him the sympathies of foreign Protestant monarchs, and especially of James I. of England, whose daughter Elizabeth, Frederick had married. But all the larger states which sympathized with Frederick happened to have their hands full at the time, and thus it happened that the only power which could, for the present, be persuaded to interfere actively in his behalf, was Denmark.

The situation begins to interest the rest of Europe.

The Danish War (1625-29).—In the year 1625, Christian IV., king of Denmark, gave ear to the supplication of the more radical wing of the German Protestants and placed himself at their head. The theatre of war was thus immediately transferred from the south to the north.

Again, the Roman Catholics won a complete victory, for against the Protestant forces they put into the field two

armies, superior in every way to their Protestant rivals. The first of these was equipped by the Catholic League and commanded by Tilly, the victor of the White Hill, while the second had only lately been got together by the personal activity of a Bohemian nobleman, one Wallenstein, who placed it at the service of the emperor.

Protestant and Catholic forces compared.

This Wallenstein was destined to play a great rôle on the imperial side. The emperor, owing to the exhaustion of his treasury, had hitherto waged the war primarily with the troops of the League. Wallenstein now proposed the bold plan of raising an army for him which should cost him nothing. His notion was convincingly simple: the army was to live by a system of forced contributions. Wallenstein's personal magnetism, his promise of large pay and plunder, soon furnished him with a numerous army of adventurers, who cared neither for Romanism nor Protestantism, and blindly served their chief.

Wallenstein creates an imperial army.

In the year 1626, Tilly and Wallenstein completely scattered their Protestant adversaries, and then proceeded to invade Denmark. Christian defended himself for a time as best he could, but in the end had to give way. In the year 1629 he was glad to sign the Peace of Lübeck, upon terms which secured him his territory in return for the promise that he would not again interfere in the affairs of Germany.

Victories of Wallenstein and Tilly.

Even before the Peace of Lübeck was signed Wallenstein had covered the whole Protestant north of Germany with his troops. His remarkable mind was nursing vast and intricate designs, the gist of them being to destroy the local power of the princes, and to build up a strong united Germany under the emperor, with himself as the power behind the throne. His successes were unchecked till he arrived at Stralsund, a port of the Baltic Sea. This city, although he vowed in his wrath he would have it, "even though it were fastened

Wallenstein's imperial plans.

First defeat at Stralsund, 1629.

to heaven by chains of iron," he could not take, and was forced to retire. Next to herself, Stralsund owed her deliverance to the supplies, secretly contributed by a voluntary ally, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. This monarch had been for some time planning to interfere in the German war, but he was detained by a war which he had begun with Poland. While he was bringing this to a close and preparing to come in person to Germany, a number of events occurred there that greatly facilitated his projects.

In spite of the check at Stralsund, the year 1629 marks the climax of the Roman Catholic successes. The Peace of Lübeck had removed Denmark from the struggle; in the length and breadth of Germany there was no army to resist the emperor; and Wallenstein and Tilly held both the north and the south. This triumphant situation persuaded Ferdinand II. to strike a decisive blow at the Protestant religion. He published (1629) the Edict of Restitution, by which the Protestants were ordered to give up all Church territories which had been taken into possession since the Peace of Augsburg (1555). As this affected two archbishoprics, nine bishoprics, and many monasteries, altogether a considerable fraction of German land, it will be understood why all Protestants, even the sluggish Lutherans, were seized with consternation. For a moment differences were forgotten, and all stood firm, ready to renew an opposition which seemed to have been broken by the tide of Papist victories.

Luckily for the Protestants, the emperor himself by his very next step frustrated his own policy. Wallenstein's savage warfare, above all, his imperial policy, which involved the ruin of the princes, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, had won him their united hatred. At the Diet of Ratisbon (Regensburg, 1630), they fiercely demanded his dismissal. The emperor hesitated for a moment, and then gave way. Wallenstein was forced to take leave of his army at the very moment when there gathered against Ferdinand the worst storm which had yet threatened.

Swedish Period (1630-35).—Wallenstein's retirement occurred almost at the same time as the landing in Germany of an army of Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus. *Reasons for the coming of Gustavus Adolphus.* What were the motives of this Swedish king in thus intervening in German affairs? They can still be made out with perfect ease. First, he was certainly moved by self-interest. Sweden was a Baltic power and had been striving for some time to make of the Baltic a "Swedish lake." The wars which Gustavus Adolphus had directed against Russia and Poland were waged in obedience to this ambitious policy, and had practically secured Sweden the whole Baltic coast as far as Prussia. The attempt of Wallenstein to establish the emperor along the northern coast of Germany might certainly be conceived as a danger by a Swedish patriot, and Gustavus, frightened at Wallenstein's successes, gradually became convinced that the safety of his state depended upon the defeat of the House of Hapsburg. Secondly, he was an ardent Protestant, ready to risk a blow for a cause he loved. It is unnecessary to try to measure mathematically, as some historians have attempted to do, which of these two motives was dominant in his mind. Capable men, such as Gustavus, who combine ideal aspirations with a sense of the necessities and realities of power, always follow a line of action which delicately strikes the balance between a multitude of considerations. In any case, Gustavus came as a rescuing angel to the aid of a dying cause, and immediately gave to events that larger proportion, which lifted the brutal struggle of the religious parties momentarily to a higher plane.

Gustavus attempted, upon landing in Germany, to secure the alliance of the Protestant princes. But this was no easy matter. They were glad enough to have his help, *Attitude of the German princes.* but they had legitimate scruples about handing over Germany to a foreigner. While Gustavus was still negotiating with them aid came to him from another quarter. Richelieu had now mastered the Huguenots (fall of La Rochelle, 1628), and was determined, like Gustavus, to

proceed vigorously against the Hapsburgs. Under the circumstances it was not unnatural that France and Sweden should form an alliance, which was duly concluded in 1631, and which henceforth determined the course of the war. For the present, however, the part of France was limited to a contribution of money to the Swedish treasury.

*Alliance
with
France.*

All this time Gustavus was in the north, waiting for the Protestant princes to join him. While they were still hesitating, the army of the League, under Tilly, took, plundered, and utterly destroyed the great Protestant city of Magdeburg (1631). The horror of the terrible massacre (20,000 inhabitants were butchered by the soldiery) added to the irritation caused by continued imperial aggressions, threw the Protestants, and, above all, the greatest prince of the north, the elector of Saxony, upon the Swedish side. Having secured this important ally, Gustavus could now march south against Tilly without fear of an insurrection at his back. At Breitenfeld, near Leipsic, a great battle took place, in which Swedish generalship and discipline astonished the world by utterly defeating the veteran army of Tilly (September, 1631).

*The sack of
Magdeburg,
1631.*

*The battle
of Breiten-
feld, 1631.*

The victory of Breitenfeld laid all Germany at the feet of Gustavus. Never was there a more complete dramatic change. The Roman Catholics, who, a year before, had held the reins in their hands, were now in exactly the same helpless position in which the Protestants had then found themselves. Gustavus, received everywhere with jubilation by the Protestants, whom he had delivered, marched, without opposition, straight across Germany to the Rhine.

*Gustavus
becomes
the hero of
Protestant
Germany.*

In the spring, Gustavus again took the field, aiming straight for Munich and Vienna, the capitals respectively of Maximilian and Ferdinand. Munich fell into his hands, and Vienna seemed likewise doomed, when Ferdinand in his cruel predicament turned once more to Wallenstein for help. That general, since his dismissal, had

*Wallenstein
comes to the
rescue.*

been sulking on his estates. When Ferdinand's ambassador now besought him for aid he affected indifference, but at length he allowed himself to be persuaded to collect an army, upon conditions that practically made his command absolute. Then he floated his standards to the wind, and immediately the old veterans flocked around their beloved leader.

In the summer of 1632 Wallenstein and Gustavus, the two greatest generals of their day, took the field against each other. After long futile manœuvring around Nuremberg, in which

The battle of Lützen, November, 1632. Wallenstein won some slight advantages, the two armies met for a decisive encounter at Lützen, not far from Leipsic (November, 1632). The armies of that day were not large; 20,000 Swedes confronted

about as many Imperialists. After the Swedish army had knelt in prayer and the trumpeters had sounded the grand old hymn of Luther, "A Mighty Fortress is our God," Gustavus ordered the attack. The combat was long and fierce, but the Swedes won the day; they won, but at a terrible cost. In one of the charges of horse, the impetuosity of Gustavus had carried him too far into the ranks of the enemy, and he was surrounded and slain.

For a few more years the Swedes, under various lieutenants trained in the school of Gustavus, and under the political direc-

Swedes defeated at Nördlingen, 1634. tion of the Chancellor Oxenstiern, who represented Gustavus's infant daughter, Queen Christina, tried to hold what had been won for them. But in 1634 they were defeated by the Imperialists, under the

younger Ferdinand, the emperor's son, at Nördlingen, and had

Murder of Wallenstein. to give up southern Germany. Wallenstein was, at that time, no longer at the head of the imperial forces. Having fallen under the suspicion of

treachery he was murdered by a band of conspirators (February, 1634).

At this juncture France entered the war. We have seen *Richelieu enters the war.* that Richelieu had made with Gustavus, on Gustavus's landing in Germany, a treaty limited to money-support. But the battle of Nördlingen establishing the fact

that Sweden without its king was no longer a match for the emperor, Richelieu now resolved on more vigorous measures against the House of Hapsburg. In 1635 he declared war against both branches.

French-Swedish Period (1635-48).—From now on the war was the conflict of the House of Bourbon, allied in Germany with Sweden and in the Netherlands with the Dutch, against the Spanish and the Austrian branches of the House of Hapsburg; and the theatre of the struggle of these two dynasties for the leadership in Europe was the territory where their interests clashed—the Netherlands, Italy, and, of course, Germany. The Protestant princes, mere pygmies in this universal contest, sank more and more out of sight. If the war continued, it was not because of any interests of theirs, but because Richelieu was set upon reducing the Hapsburgs in the world, and would not retire until France and Sweden had gained a firm foothold in Germany. *Changed character of the war.*

The campaigns of this last period of the war consist, therefore, of a patient forward thrust across the Rhine into southern Germany, on the part of France, and a steady movement southward from the Baltic, on the part of Sweden. The emperor, aided by subsidies from Spain, but rarely by her troops (for Spain was engaged to the extent of her capacity in the Netherlands and Italy), made what resistance he could, while the Germans looked on, for the most part indifferent, weary to death of the long struggle, and unable to see any further meaning in it. Under these conditions, and especially after the great generals, Turenne and the prince of Condé were put at the head of the French troops, the emperor was steadily pushed back. During these years, Germany was harried by fire and sword. The cities fell into decay, and the country was deserted by the peasants. When the product of labour was sure to become the booty of marauders, nobody cared to work. So the people fell into idleness, were butchered, or died of hunger or of pestilence. *The attack of France and Sweden.* *The long agony of Germany.* The only

profession which afforded security and a livelihood was that of a soldier, and soldier meant robber and murderer. Armies, therefore, became mere bands, organized for pillage, and marched up and down the country, followed by immense hordes of starved camp followers, women and children, who hoped, in this way, to get a sustenance which they could not find at home. Finally, defeat upon defeat brought the emperor to terms. Ferdinand II., who had begun the war, having died in the meantime, it was his son and successor, Ferdinand III. (1637-57), who put an end to the war. *The end of the war.* general misery by signing, after wearisome negotiations, a peace with all his enemies, called the Peace of Westphalia (1648).

The Peace of Westphalia is, from a variety of matter which it treats, one of the most important documents in history.

The main sub-heads of the Peace of Westphalia. First, it determined what territorial compensation France and Sweden were to have in Germany for their victories over the emperor; secondly, it laid a new basis for the peace between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism; and, thirdly, it authorized an important political readjustment of Germany. All these points will be considered separately.

As to the first point, Sweden received the western half of Pomerania, and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verdun. By these possessions she was put in control of the mouths of the German rivers, the Oder, Elbe, and Weser. France was confirmed in the possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which she had acquired under Henry II. (1552), and received, in addition, Alsace, with the exception of the city of Strassburg and a few inconsiderable districts.

Under the second point, we note that the Peace of Augsburg was confirmed, and that the toleration there granted to the Lutherans was extended to the Calvinists. *The religious settlement.* In regard to the bishoprics, which the Edict of Restitution had declared to be Catholic, the victory remained substantially with the Protestants, for

January 1, 1624, was designated as a test day, it being agreed that whatever land had been Protestant at that time should remain Protestant, and *vice versa*.

Under the third point it is necessary to note a variety of political and territorial changes within Germany. First, the princes were given a number of new sovereign rights; among others, the right of forming alliances with each other, and with foreign powers. Therewith the decentralization of Germany was completed, and the single states legally declared as good as independent. Furthermore, the elector of Brandenburg received additions of territory, which made him not only the greatest Protestant prince, but the greatest prince altogether in Germany, after the emperor. Brandenburg, thus enlarged, was destined to grow into a kingdom (Prussia), and become in time the rival and conquerer of Austria, and the recreator of the German political unity of which the Peace of Westphalia made an end. As a last curious item, it may be added that Switzerland and the Dutch Netherlands (seven United Provinces), which had once been members of the Empire, but had long ago won a practical independence, were formally declared free from any obligations to that body.

*Disruption
of Germany.*

*Growth of
Branden-
burg.*

*Switzerland
and the
Nether-
lands.*

The Peace of Westphalia had also a European significance. It dealt with so many international affairs, that it may be said to have been, in a measure, a constitution of Europe, and practically, it was the basis of European public law till the French Revolution. We may also take it to mark a turning-point in the destinies of civilization. From the time of Luther the chief interest of Europe had been the question of Religion. Europe was divided into two camps, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, which opposed each other with all their might. In the Peace of Westphalia, the two parties recorded what they had gradually been learning—which was, that such a fight was futile, and that they would better learn to put up with each other. Almost imperceptibly men's *minds* had grown more tolerant,

*The Peace
of Westpha-
lia closes
the era of
religious
wars.*

even if the *laws* were not always so, and this is, when all is said, the more satisfactory progress. The best proof of the improved state of the European mind toward the middle of the seventeenth century, is offered by the practical application of this very peace instrument. The toleration there granted was merely of the old kind—the toleration of the princes,

The principle of toleration. but not of the individuals, expressed by the famous *cujus regio, ejus religio* (he who rules the country may settle its religion)—yet, persecution of in-

dividuals was henceforth the exception, and not the rule. It would be an exaggeration to say that the principle of toleration had now been conquered for humanity, or that the squabbles for religion's sake ceased in the world, but it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that toleration had won with the Peace of Westphalia a definite recognition among the upper and the cultured classes. During the next one hundred and fifty years, the principle filtered gradually, through the literary labour of many noble thinkers, to the lowest strata of society, and became, in the era of the French Revolution, a possession of all mankind.

SECTION II

THE ERA OF ABSOLUTISM AND THE DYNASTIC WARS:
FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION (1648-1789).

THE reader is again warned that any staking off of a section of Modern History is entirely arbitrary, and is solely justified on the score of convenience and in the interest of analysis. Now the above so-called Second Section has, like the First, an essential unity, or, to use a musical expression, a leading motive. This motive is found in the circumstance that during the century and a half between the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the French Revolution (1789), Europe was dominated by the principle of government known as absolutism, and was constantly shaken by the wars of the various absolute dynasties waged for the selfish purposes of territorial aggrandizement. But this once understood, the reader must guard himself against imagining that there was no absolutism and self-aggrandizement both before and after our Section II. Of course there was, and all that is meant by this introductory word is that never at any other time did these two closely wedded tendencies stand so prominently in the foreground of public affairs.

CHAPTER XXV

ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. THE STUARTS, THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL MON- ARCHY UNDER WILLIAM III.

LITERATURE.—Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*. (Epochs.)

Gardiner, *History of England* (1603-42).

Gardiner, *History of the Civil War* (1642-49).

Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate* (1649-60).

Firth, *Cromwell (Heroes)*.

Morley, *Cromwell, and Cromwell's Place in History*.

Seeley, *Growth of England's Foreign Policies*.

Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*.

Of Memoirs on the Restoration, see Pepys.

Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution* (1628-60).

Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*.

Reign of James I. (1603-25).

Gardiner, *Student's History of England*.

Green, *Short History of the English People*.

Wakeling, *Oxford Manuals of English History*. Vol. V.

ELIZABETH was succeeded upon her death by the next heir
James, the to the crown, James I., the son of Mary Stuart.
first mon- James, who was already king of Scotland, united
arch of in his person for the first time the sovereignty over
Great the kingdoms constituting Great Britain. But it
Britain. must be understood that the union of England and Scotland
which the accession of James established, was, for the present,
merely a personal union; that is, the accession of James
gave the two countries a common sovereign, but not, as yet,
common laws and institutions.

It was unfortunate that at a time when the character of the sovereign greatly influenced the government, *Character of James.* such a man as James should have been on the throne. His figure was almost ludicrously disjointed, and his character was devoid of force and fibre. Under the circumstances his really considerable information was not likely to help him much, whereas his exaggerated idea of his office was sure to do him harm. Concerning this office, he obstinately believed that it was of divine origin, and that its prerogatives were so extensive as to render him practically absolute.

The accession of James occurred at a favourable moment. The defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) had established the authority of England without. Within, the Roman Catholics were a waning party, and the Anglican Church, which was alone recognized by the law *The favourable condition of the kingdom.* (Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, 1559), had, under Elizabeth, acquired solidarity and respect. The Puritan party within the Church, which inclined toward Calvinistic views, was by no means violent, and could be conciliated by a few concessions taking account of their aversion to the surplice, to genuflections, and similar externals of the service. The question was whether James would show the breadth of mind which the solution of this question demanded.

Shortly after his accession, in 1604, James met the Puritans in a conference at Hampton Court. He there bitterly denounced them as the enemies of episcopacy, and completely identified himself with that system of Church government. *James estranges the Puritans.* Now the king's charges against the Puritans were far from true. Once more let us remember that the Puritans at this time were not revolutionary; that they accepted the Church of England and the principle of episcopacy; and that they demanded only a few liberties, chiefly respecting ceremonial non-essentials. It was, therefore, extremely unwise on the part of the king to dismiss the Puritan conference gruffly, and to order, shortly after, the removal from their livings of those of the clergy who refused

to conform to every minute description of the Anglican service.

The Roman Catholic party, too, had expected an alleviation of its position through James's accession. When it found that nothing was done to make its lot lighter, certain desperate men resolved upon vengeance. They deliberately planned to destroy the whole English government, king, Lords, and Commons, by one gigantic stroke. They heaped gunpowder in barrels in the Parliament cellars, and set November 5, 1605—the day of the opening in state of a new session—for the monstrous crime. Suspicion, however, had been awakened through a letter of warning, sent by a conspirator to a friend who was a member of the House of Lords; and luckily, on the very eve of the planned disaster, Guy Fawkes, the hardiest of the conspirators, was discovered keeping watch among the explosives. He and his helpmates were arrested and executed, and the English people were once more confirmed in that intense hatred and distrust of the Roman faith which long remained the first article of their religious and political programme.

The troubles with the Puritans and Catholics were not the only difficulties which James's policy raised about him. He managed also to quarrel with his Parliament. In the England of that time the rights of king and of Parliament were not accurately determined, and the king's prerogative was necessarily vague. It must be remembered that there was no written constitution, and that the legal basis for every political action was found in a mass of frequently conflicting customs and statutes. Under these circumstances a monarch could do a great many things which a Parliament might, on the ground of some ancient ordinance, dispute, but which a Parliament, if well-disposed in general toward the monarch, and if convinced that the particular act was wise, would not dispute.

Now James's finances fell into disorder—a sore matter with every government. Probably a little clever leading of Parliament would have brought that body around to a complete

and wholesome reform of the finances, but James preferred, in his high-handed and stupid way, to order the levy of a number of questionable taxes on his own authority, and to trust to luck that Parliament would, after a little haggling, yield him the point. In this he was mistaken. Parliament after Parliament allowed itself to be dissolved rather than take his dictation in this matter. And what was the result? What originally had been merely a practical business question, was soon raised to a matter of principle, and the irritated Commons began to ask themselves if the king had a right to raise any kind of tax at all without their consent. In this way the question, who controlled the nation's purse, was definitely placed before the people, and an answer would have to be found sooner or later, whether by peaceful adjustment or by war.

The question of who controlled the nation's purse.

To his unpopularity James's foreign policy contributed. His one notion was peace. That was not bad in itself, but James contrived an impracticable course. He tried to associate himself with Spain, arguing that an understanding between the leading Protestant and Roman Catholic powers would secure peace to the world. Unfortunately the Spaniards only hoodwinked him, and the English became thoroughly disaffected by this policy of truckling to their ancient foe. Nevertheless the king persisted in his course. In 1618 he had Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the popular Elizabethan heroes, executed for venturing to attack a Spanish village in South America. And when, in that same year, the Thirty Years' War broke out in Germany, instead of assisting his son-in-law, Frederick of the Palatinate, who was elected king of Bohemia, he remained an impotent spectator, in the hope that Spain would somehow kindly interfere in his relative's behalf. In the end his son-in-law was driven from Germany. But in spite of the fact that everybody now looked upon a conflict as inevitable, James continued his futile negotiations, and did not prepare for war against Spain until within a few months of his death, which occurred in 1625.

James's policy of peace.

It is a relief to turn from this chapter of mistaken efforts to the more productive field of James's colonial enterprises. In *English colonization.* 1601 occurred the first settlement of Ulster, the North-eastern province of Ireland, with English and Scottish colonists. Before James's time Ireland had given to *Ireland.* monarch after monarch nothing but trouble, and it was hoped that the scheme of colonization would bring the unruly island under control. However, in order to carry out this policy James had to confiscate the land and crowd the natives back into the marshes. This act of violence, which the Irish took to be nothing less than a crime, stamped an indelible hatred of the English in their souls. In the new world, *America.* another and an altogether more happy colonization was undertaken. In 1607 the first permanent English colony was planted in Virginia, and in 1620 the first band of radical Puritans, who had separated themselves from the Anglican Church and had at first taken refuge from persecution in Holland, set out across the Atlantic. From the valiant labours of themselves and their Puritan successors in the wilderness of Massachusetts developed in time a prosperous colony, and sprang the germs of that society which became the United States of America. Furthermore, in 1612, *India.* the East India Company, which had been chartered under Elizabeth, secured its first foothold in India. Thus, the victories of Elizabeth's reign having cleared the way, the Anglo-Saxon race planted under James the seeds of its expansion in the east and in the west, and laid the foundations of the English commercial supremacy of our day.

Reign of Charles I. (1625-49).

Gardiner (as before).

Green (as before).

Hutton, *Laud*.Morley, *Cromwell*.Firth, *Cromwell*.Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*.

Charles I., who succeeded James in the year 1625, was outwardly very unlike his father. His face, familiar to us from Van Dyck's frequent reproductions, was handsome, and his manner kingly. He was also intelligent and conscientious, but viewed the royal prerogative like his father, and believed, like him, that a parliament ought not to be conciliated, but cowed.

The two main difficulties created by James bore immediate and dangerous fruit in the new reign. James had roused the slumbering Puritanism of his subjects and had raised the question with his Parliament as to who controlled taxation. Charles, by persisting in James's course of hostility to Puritans and Parliament, succeeded, in an incredibly short time, in developing the prejudices of his people into a violent opposition to himself, and in rousing the Commons, who had been servilely docile under Elizabeth, and, even while protesting, had been deeply respectful under James, to the point where they plainly put the question: who was sovereign in England, Parliament or king?

*Struggle
between
Parliament
and king
comes to a
head.*

In the very year of his accession, Charles married Henrietta Maria, a sister of Louis XIII. of France. This marriage which was unpopular in England in itself, was rendered doubly so by the fact that Charles had entered upon an agreement with Louis to offer the English Roman Catholics his protection. Over this concession to a hostile faith the Parliament straightway flew into a passion. It grew still more excited when the fact became known that the king had lavished favours upon

*Charles falls
out with the
Commons in
matters of
religion.*

certain Anglican churchmen who had publicly attacked the Calvinistic doctrines then held by the majority of Englishmen. There is no doubt that the king meant well enough, and certainly he was far from the thought of betraying the cause of Protestantism; but his religious liberalism bore the character of laxity in the minds of the severe believers of that day, and aroused general suspicion. The Commons in consequence, adopted an uncompromising Protestant policy. They began to lay more and more stress on those features of the Anglican Church which were emphatically Protestant, and less and less on those which had been retained from the Papal establishment. Thus while the doctrines aroused their enthusiasm, they grew increasingly indifferent about the practices and ceremonies. From these latter, however, the king, who had a fondness for outward show, would abate no jot nor tittle. Monarch and Commons, as a result, drifted farther and farther apart on questions of religion; and under the unconscious action of resentment, the people began falling away from their own ceremonial Anglican traditions and edging over to Puritan ground.

Not satisfied with alienating his people by arousing their religious animosity, the king also alienated them by his political conduct. The war with Spain furnished him the occasion. He had inherited it from his father, and *Charles falls out with his Parliament over the war with Spain.* was bent on carrying it on. The Parliament was not unwilling to give him support—for the war with Spain was popular—but to such grants of money as it made, it attached the condition that the war should be carried on effectively and under good leaders. This condition Charles, to his misfortune, neglected. He intrusted the conduct of the war to the duke of Buckingham, once his father's favourite and now his own, and Buckingham, who was handsome and dashing, but unfit for weighty business, reaped nothing but disaster. Thus an expedition sent in 1625 against Cadiz ended in utter failure. Thereupon, the Commons refused to give the king more money until the duke was removed from the council, and, as the king refused to allow himself to be

dictated to in the manner of his ministers, there ensued a deadlock which Charles tried in vain to break by the repeated dissolution of Parliament.

In the year 1627 matters grew worse. The king, not content with one war upon his hands, allowed himself to be driven into a war with France, in behalf of the French Huguenots. The Huguenots were being besieged in La Rochelle. As there was no other way of getting money for a rescuing expedition, Charles adopted a perilous device: he forced the rich to make him a loan. But the sums, thus illegally extorted, brought no blessing. A relief expedition, which sailed for La Rochelle under Buckingham, failed as miserably as the attack upon Cadiz. As a result, ignominy in the war with France was added to the ignominy already incurred in the war with Spain.

The Parliament which met in 1628 was therefore justified in its outbreak of wrath against the Government. Before granting another penny it insisted that the grievances of the nation be redressed. In a document called the Petition of Right, it made a formal assertion of its claims. The Petition of Right declared forced loans illegal, and condemned a number of practices, such as arbitrary arrests and billeting of troops upon householders. The Petition of Right was firmly announced to be a prerequisite to all further concessions by the Parliament. Charles, who had two wars on his hands and no money, had to give way. The Petition of Right, celebrated as a renewal of Magna Carta, was accepted, and became the law of the land (1628).

Unfortunately the Petition of Right did not dispose of all the internal troubles. The obnoxious Buckingham was not dismissed; the excitement, which had permeated all classes, did not subside. Proof of the degree of hatred which the party strife had reached was offered soon enough. While a new expedition to La Rochelle was fitting out at Portsmouth, a fanatic patriot, John Felton by name, stabbed Buckingham to death (1628). The king grieved over the loss of his favourite, but his policy re-

Buckingham and the war with France.

The Petition of Right, 1628.

Murder of Buckingham, 1628.

mained obstinately unchanged. And this at a moment when a struggle was threatening with his Parliament greater than any that had preceded!

It was the practice in England to vote certain customs duties, called Tunnage and Poundage, at the beginning of a reign, for the duration of the king's life. These *Tunnage and Poundage.* formed the most considerable income of the treasury, and without them the government could not be carried on. Largely by accident the Commons had not voted Tunnage and Poundage for the life of Charles, and now that they had a grievance against him, they resolved not to vote this tax until they had received in return fresh assurances of good government. Charles grew highly excited over their conduct, which to him seemed mere bickering, and in the session of 1629 the conflict between king and Commons broke out anew. After a few unfruitful negotiations, Charles determined to dissolve Parliament; but the members *The Crisis of 1629.* getting wind of it, passed, before the adjournment, amidst a scene unparalleled for excitement in English parliamentary annals, a number of resolutions, affirming that the levy of Tunnage and Poundage was illegal, and that whosoever paid it or brought in religious innovations was a traitor.

Thus the question of Tunnage and Poundage, added to the religious excitement, brought about virtual war between king and Parliament. But for the next eleven years *Eleven years of rule without Parliament.* (1629-40) the king had the upper hand, the extensive prerogative acquired by his predecessors giving him at first a distinct advantage over the ambitious Commons. Among other privileges, he was not obliged to assemble Parliament at all, unless he wanted a new subsidy, and as anything was better than having Parliament again, he now resolved to get along with the revenues he had. But this plan necessitated economy, and, above all, the termination of the expensive wars with France and Spain. Before the end of 1630, therefore, Charles had made his peace with these two powers. His outlook now was, on the whole,

exceedingly hopeful. Tunnage and Poundage, although condemned by the Commons, was regularly paid into the exchequer by a people who were not yet ready to renounce their king, and Tunnage and Poundage, taken together with a number of other taxes which had been regularly provided, were found sufficient for the ordinary expenses of the administration.

During these eleven years of practically absolute government Charles managed matters in Church and state as it suited him. For the affairs of the Church his chief adviser was William Laud, whom, in 1633, Charles appointed arch- *Laud and* bishop of Canterbury and primate of England. *Wentworth.* Laud, like Charles himself, laid stress upon ceremony and uniformity, and proceeded with such vigour against the enemies of ceremony, that in a few years he had either secured the submission of the Puritan element or had ejected it from the Church. For the affairs of state Charles depended in large measure upon Thomas Wentworth, better known by his later title of earl of Strafford. Wentworth, who was a firm believer in strong government, supported the king in his stand against Parliament and people, but it is entirely erroneous to make him responsible for all the ill-advised measures of the monarch.

Of such measures there were many, all contributing to shake Charles's arbitrary position. Notably was this the case with ship-money. Ship-money was a tax collected by *Ship-money.* Charles in the year 1634, for the purpose of creating a navy. The ordinary method of getting supplies for such an end would have been to appeal to Parliament, but that the king shrank from doing. So he hit upon a subterfuge. In former times monarchs had, when the country was in danger, ordered the counties bordering on the sea to furnish ships. Charles issued such an order in the year 1634. A little later he declared his willingness to receive money instead of ships, and further ordained that the inland counties, too, should pay.

Plainly, this procedure was, if not totally illegal, at least

hazardous and certain to arouse a great deal of opposition. This appeared when a country gentleman, John Hampden by name, preferred rather than pay his share of the tax to suffer arrest and trial. The court, when the case came up, decided against Hampden, but so wide was the disaffection following upon Hampden's trial that it required only an occasion for England to show that the loyalty which had bound her for ages to her royal house, had suffered a severe shock.

That occasion was furnished by Scotland. In the year 1637, Charles, with his usual neglect of popular feeling, ventured to introduce into Presbyterian Scotland the Prayer-book and certain of the Episcopal practices of England. The answer of the Scots to this measure was to rise in insurrection. They drew up a national oath or Covenant, by which they pledged themselves to resist to the utmost all attempts at changing their religion, and when Charles did not immediately give in, he found that he had a war on his hands.

There follows the campaign of 1639 against the Scots, which is known as the First Bishops' War. It was a miserable fiasco. Owing to want of funds, the king led northward a mere ill-equipped rabble, and when he arrived upon the scene, found himself compelled to sign a truce. Between his Scottish and English subjects, whom he had alike alienated, his position was now thoroughly humiliating. In order to avenge himself upon the Scots, he required effective money help from England, and effective money help from England involved calling a Parliament. In one or the other direction, he had, therefore, to make concessions. Charles fought a hard battle with his pride, but finally, feeling that the Scottish matter was the more pressing, he summoned a Parliament (1640).

Thus the long period of government without a Parliament had come to an end. When, however, the Parliament, known as the Short Parliament, began, instead of voting moneys, to remind the king of the nation's grievances, Charles flamed up

once more, and dismissed it. Once more, in despite of his lack of funds, he conducted a campaign, known as the Second Bishops' War, against the Scots (1640). But when the second experiment had failed as badly as the first, he had to acknowledge himself finally beaten.

*The Second
Bishops'
War, 1640.*

In the autumn of 1640 he summoned another Parliament, which he knew he should not be able to send home at his will. The Parliament which met has received from history the name of the Long Parliament, and is the most famous legislative body in English annals.

*The Long
Parliament,
1640.*

The Long Parliament, as soon as it was installed, took the reins into its hands. First the desire for revenge had to be satisfied, and accordingly Strafford (1641) and Laud (1645) were executed. Then the whole constitution was practically remodelled, Parliament declared everything, the king nothing. It was the Parliament's answer to the king's despotic rule. Could a king of Charles's temperament submit for long to such a terrible abasement?

*The victory
of the
Commons.*

For a year the king bore with the altered circumstances. But he was watching for his chance, and the first division among the Commons was his signal to strike. The Commons had agreed admirably on all the political questions at issue between themselves and the king. Differences appeared only when the religious question was presented.

*Division in
the Com-
mons.*

The sentiment against the Episcopal system had made a great deal of progress of late years, but a strong conservative element still supported it. Under the circumstances Puritans and Episcopalians in the Commons frequently came to hard words, and naturally, as soon as this opening in the hitherto solid phalanx of the opposition was apparent, Charles took advantage of it. He threw in his lot with the Episcopalians, and so once more rallied about him a party.

*Charles
sides with
the Episco-
palians.*

In January, 1642, he calculated that he was strong enough

to strike a blow at the predominance of Parliament, and attempted to arrest the five leaders, Pym, Hampden, Hazelrigg, Holles, and Strode, in full Parliamentary session. But the attempt failed, and Charles, always a little timorous, had not the courage to brave the situation which he had himself created. When London rose in arms, Charles fled, and the schism was complete. In August, 1642, unfurling his banner at Nottingham, he bade all loyal Englishmen rally to their king. The Parliament in its turn gathered an army and prepared to take the field.



The parties about to engage each other seemed to be very equally matched. The king's party, called the Cavaliers, held the north and the west, York and Oxford being their chief towns, while the adherents of the Parliament, known derisively as Roundheads, for the reason that many of them cropped their hair close, held the south and the east, with London for their centre. Neither side was well furnished with troops, but the fact that the slashing country gentlemen crowded into the king's service gave the royal side, at first, the advantage. In the early campaigns the army of the Parliament was steadily driven back, and on one occasion London, the Parliamentary centre, almost fell into the king's hands. It was really not until the year 1644 that the Parliament began to develop an efficient army. At the same time there rose into prominence the man who was destined to turn the tables on the king and bring the war to a conclusion—Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell is one of those surprising characters who sum up in themselves a whole period of their nation's history. He was a country gentleman of the east of England, whose life had become bound up in the Puritan cause. With firmness and strength, he coupled an extraordinary amount of practical good sense, which enabled him to see things exactly as they were. Now the great business of the hour was a good army. Gradually, therefore, Cromwell collected about himself a special troop of men of his own mind—Puritans who had their

ENGLAND in the GREAT REBELLION

A.D. 1642-1650.

Scale of Statute Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60

Districts held by the King Dec. 1643 
Parliament .. 



Stanford Geo. Estab.

London: John Murray.

hearts in the cause ; and this troop soon won for itself the grim title of Cromwell's Ironsides.

In the campaign of 1644 Cromwell's Ironsides first prominently showed their worth. They contributed largely to the great victory of Marston Moor over Prince Rupert,¹ the king's nephew and the dashing leader of his horse. At the battle of Newbury, which took place a few months later, it is probable that the king would have been crushed entirely if Cromwell had not been thwarted by his sluggish and incapable superiors.

That winter Cromwell fiercely denounced in Parliament the lax method of carrying on war which had hitherto prevailed, and so convincing were his criticisms that the Commons now carried out a number of sweeping reforms. By means of certain ordinances the army was completely reorganized and the spirit of Cromwell's Ironsides introduced into the whole service. The spring of 1645 found Sir Thomas Fairfax at the head of the reformed forces and Cromwell in command of the horse.

The effect of the change made itself felt at once : the campaign of 1645 proved decisive. At Naseby, in the heart of England, the king made his last formidable effort (June 14). The gallant Rupert plunged, as usual, through the squadrons of horse opposite him, but Cromwell in the meantime broke the king's left and centre and won the day. For almost a year the king still held out, vainly hoping relief from this or that small circumstance. In May, 1646, judging that all was over, he surrendered to the Scots, who occupied the English north.

The Scots had joined the English Parliament against the king in the year 1643. They had treated the first suggestions of alliance with indifference, and when they finally consented to join the English, they made a very hard condition : they demanded that their own Presbyterian system of church government be

*The decisive
campaign of
1645.
Naseby.*

*Alliance be-
tween the
Scots and
Parliament.*

¹ Prince Rupert, known as Rupert of the Rhine, was the son of Elizabeth, the daughter of James, who had married Frederick of the Palatinate.

established also in England. The stiff Puritan opinion in the Parliament revolted at first at the thought of a foreign dictation, but as the majority were well disposed to the Presbyterian system, and the danger from the king was pressing, the alliance between Scots and Parliament was formally approved on the proposed basis.

However, a handful of commoners standing for religious tolerance protested against the treaty to the last. To them the

Presbyterians and Independents.

uniformity of belief enforced by the Presbyterian Kirk was no whit less hateful than the uniformity of service demanded by the Anglican Church.

But being a mere handful, they would have been over-ridden without a word if they had not received support from a very important quarter: their religious views had the approval of Cromwell and his Ironsides. Under the circumstances the majority was obliged to proceed with caution, especially while the war continued and the troops had to be kept in good humour. Thus the contention slumbered for a time, but as soon as the battle of Naseby had been won and the enemy scattered, the quarrel between the Presbyterians and the Independents, as the advocates of tolerance were called, assumed a more serious aspect.

When the king surrendered to the Scots he was well-informed of these differences of opinion among the victors, and hoped,

The calculation of the king.

in his small-minded way, to find his profit in them.

Let the army, representing the Independents and their view of tolerance, only fall to quarrelling with the majority of the Parliament, representing the Presbyterians and their uncompromising system of uniformity, and his, the king's, alliance would prove invaluable.

Herein Charles calculated both well and ill. In the year 1647 the Scots surrendered him, on the payment of a good

The Parliament offends the army.

price, to the Parliament. The Presbyterians thereupon tried to hurry through a settlement, while the army offered a different set of terms. Endless

intrigues resulted, in which the Scots, too, took a hand, and

the consequence was that in the year 1648 there broke out a war among Charles's enemies—the Scots supported by English Presbyterian influence being pitted against the army. So far Charles had calculated well. In the long run, however, his petty calculations shot wide of the mark, for Fairfax and Cromwell very quickly laid their enemies at their feet.

The civil war renewed, 1648.

Then the army returned to London to have vengeance upon what it called the bloody authors of the struggle, the Presbyterian majority of the Commons, and the king. On December 6, 1648, a troop under the command of Colonel Pride expelled the Presbyterian members, to the number of about one hundred, from the House. No more than fifty or sixty commoners retained their seats, and these, the mere tools of the army, received the contemptuous name of the Rump Parliament.

Pride's purge, 1648.

Next the army turned upon the king, firmly resolved to subject him to a trial. As there were no legal provisions in the constitution for such a step, the now servile Parliament created a special high court of justice to try the king. The end, of course, was to be foreseen. The high court of justice found the king guilty of treason, and on January 30, 1649, he was executed on a scaffold before his own palace of Whitehall. He had never been shaken in the conviction that the right, during the whole course of the civil war, had been with him, and he died bravely in that belief.

The execution of the king, January 30, 1649.

The king's death had been preceded by the dissolution of the House of Lords because of the refusal of that body to take the army's side. The English constitution, therefore, was now a wreck; the king and Lords had disappeared, the Commons were a fragment. The power lay solely with the army, and the burning question of the day was: Would the revolutionists of the army be able to build a new constitution along new lines?

The breakdown of the constitution.

The Commonwealth and the Protectorate (1649-60.)

Gardiner (as before).

Green (as before).

Firth, *Cromwell*.Morley, *Cromwell*.

On the death of the king, the Rump Parliament voted that *The commonwealth.* England was a commonwealth, and appointed, provisionally, a council of state to act as the executive branch of the government.

There was work enough ahead for the young republic, for in Ireland and Scotland Charles II. had been proclaimed king. *Cromwell subdues Ireland (1649) and Scotland (1651).* The council of state insisting that these kingdoms should not be allowed to go a separate way in politics, Cromwell was despatched against them. In 1649 he brought the Irish to terms by means of bloody massacres at Drogheda and Wexford. This done, the victor turned to Scotland. At Dunbar (1650) Cromwell's soldiers, whose tempers were like the steel with which they smote, scattered one Scottish army; and when a second army, with Charles II. in its midst, struck across the border in the hope of stirring up an English rebellion, Cromwell starting in pursuit met it at Worcester, in the heart of England, and won the crowning victory of his life (1651). Charles II. escaped, after various romantic adventures, to the continent; but the Scots came to terms, and thus the authority of the commonwealth was established throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

Now that England had peace, the question of a permanent government became more pressing. Everybody clamoured for a settlement. Only the Rump Parliament was in no hurry, and the fifty or sixty members who composed it clung to office, finding power a delightful thing. *Dismissal of the Rump Parliament, 1653.* In April, 1653, Cromwell, despairing of good through such a Parliament, resolved to have done with it. He invaded the Parliament with a detachment of troops and ordered the members home. "Come, come," he shouted in indignation, "we have had enough of this."

It is not fit you should sit here any longer." Thus the last fragment of the old constitution had vanished.

A new Parliament, freely elected by the nation, would have been one solution of the difficulties which now confronted Cromwell. But such a Parliament would immediately have called back the king, and Cromwell was ready to try all possible means before he declared that the great cause had failed. After a few vain shifts, he therefore accepted a constitution, called the Instrument of Government, which was drawn up by his officers, and which named him Lord Protector. By the Instrument of Government, *Oliver, Protector*. Oliver, the Lord Protector, together with a Council of State, was to exercise the executive, while a Parliament of a single house, from which all partisans of the king were excluded, was to perform the legislative functions of government. The new attempt came nearer than any of the others to being a solution of the political difficulties into which England had been plunged; but, unfortunately, even this partial success was due solely to the fact that the new constitution practically placed in control an entirely efficient man.

The five years (1653-58) of Oliver's rule as Protector were full of difficulties. His first Parliament insisted on revising the Instrument of Government. As that was tantamount to calling the whole settlement in question, Oliver dissolved the Parliament in anger (January, 1655). For awhile now he ruled without a Parliament. There were frequent attempts upon his life, republican conspiracies, royalist risings, the cares and annoyances inseparable from power. But his brave spirit was undaunted, and he met every difficulty as it arose. As it was better to rule with the nation than without, he called a second Parliament in the year 1656, and with this he got along more smoothly for a while. The traditional English conservatism governed this assembly, and it tried to get back upon the lines of the old constitution. It even offered to make Oliver king. But he declined the honour, and soon

The Protectorate a failure at home.

new quarrels arose which led to a new dissolution (February, 1658).

In all this time the great principle of toleration for which Oliver stood had made no progress. Oliver's idea had been to give all Protestant Christians, whether they were
England refuses to accept toleration. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Puritans, the protection of the law. But the fierce religious temper of the time hindered the majority from seeing any right outside of their own faith, or feeling any obligation to put up with any other. Oliver, like all men who are ahead of their time, was left without support. The animosities of his antagonists, as well as of his followers, even forced him before long to trench upon his own principles. In 1655 he began persecuting those who held to the Book of Common Prayer, and long before his end he had the bitter conviction that the government of the Puritan Commonwealth rested on no single principle that had taken root in the nation, and that it lived entirely by the will and vigour of one man.

If Oliver was thus reaping failure at home, he added triumph to triumph abroad. From 1652 to 1654 there had been a war with the Dutch caused by the famous
The Protectorate a success abroad. Navigation Act. The Dutch had in the seventeenth century got the carrying trade of the world into their hands; by means of the Navigation Act (1651) the Parliament strove to bring part of it to England. The Act ordained that imported goods should be carried in English ships, or else in ships belonging to the country in which the goods were produced. The Dutch
The first Dutch war (1652-54). declared war rather than suffer this injury, but after a few defeats had to accept what they could not alter.

Soon after Oliver entered into an alliance with France (1657) against Spain. Jamaica, in the West Indies, was taken from Spain by an English fleet, and
War with Spain. Dunkirk, in the Spanish Netherlands, after a French-English victory over the Spaniards on the Dunes, was surrendered to Cromwell's representatives. Since the

days of Elizabeth, the name of England had not enjoyed such respect as it did now.

Thus to the end the Protector held the rudder firmly. But his health was broken by his great responsibilities, and on the third day of September, 1658, shortly after a great storm had swept over the island, he passed away. *The death of the Protector, September 3, 1658.*

Cromwell's death was followed by a year of pure anarchy. The republic was dead. For a while, however, Richard Cromwell, Oliver's commonplace son, ruled as Protector (to April, 1659); then the soldiers tried their talents; and finally, even the Long Parliament appeared again upon the scene. Clearly, after all these shifts, Charles II. was the only choice left; it was but necessary that some strong man should act in the absent king's behalf and order would be restored. The strong man was found in General George Monk. Monk, one of Cromwell's most capable lieutenants, refusing to close his eyes longer to the real situation, determined to promote the restoration of the Stuarts and the re-invigoration of the old constitution. Charles II. was merely asked to promise a general pardon. This Charles did, and when, a month later, he landed at Dover (May, 1660), he was received with universal shouts of welcome. Some days before a new Parliament had formally restored the ancient constitution, voting that "the government is, and ought to be, by king, Lords and Commons." *Anarchy. The restoration, May, 1660.*

The Restoration. Charles II. (1660-85) and James II. (1685-88).

Gardiner (as before).

Green (as before).

Osmund Airy, *The English Restoration and Louis XIV.*

Taswell Langmead, *English Constitutional History.*

Charles II. was one of the most popular monarchs England ever had; but his popularity was due not so much to his

talents as to his vices. To understand this we must remember that the Restoration is a complex movement. It marks not merely the break-down of the Puritan experiment of government, but also a revulsion from the severe and colourless scheme of life which the Puritans imposed upon society. Like one who had thirsted a long while, the Englishman of the Restoration, therefore, threw himself greedily upon splendour and distractions. Profligacy became the fashion of the day, and Charles, because he satisfied the contemporary ideal in that he was corrupt, witty, and amiable, assumed the position of a sort of popular hero.

Now that the monarchy was restored, it was almost as if the Rebellion had not taken place, for the constitutional questions at issue between king and Parliament were left much as they had been before the war broke out. For the present, however, everybody was so entirely taken up with rejoicing at the restoration of order, that the quarrel about the measure of the king's prerogative dropped from sight.

The Cavalier Parliament, as the Parliament elected in 1661 and allowed to hold power for eighteen years, was significantly called, completely expressed this reactionary sentiment of the country: it was more royal than the king. An index of its political sentiment is furnished by its vote that no one could lawfully take arms against the sovereign. In religious matters its stand was even more uncompromising. The Cavalier Parliament stood for the Church of England and nothing but the Church of England, and initiated against all non-Anglicans a severe policy of persecution.

In the year 1661 the Parliament enacted the Corporation Act, which provided that every one who held an office in a municipal corporation would have to take the oath of non-resistance to the king, and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. The measure, of course, turned all non-

The Restoration is a change in life and manners.

The Cavalier Parliament.

The Corporation Act, 1661.

Anglicans out of the city governments. The next year (1662) there followed a new Act of Uniformity, by which every clergyman who did not accept every prescription of the Book of Common Prayer was expelled from his living. Hundreds of the Presbyterian and Puritan clergy resigned their cures rather than assent, and henceforward men of these faiths, together with the adherents of the other sects which had lately arisen, such as the Baptists and the Quakers, were embraced by the common name of Dissenters.

The new Act of Uniformity, 1662.

The Dissenters.

It is not probable that the Cavalier Parliament would have insisted on the national creed with such vehemence, if it had not been persuaded that toleration granted to the Dissenters would open a loop-hole for the Roman Catholics. And just then the suspicion against Popery was stronger in the land than ever, because of the secret machinations of the court in behalf of this faith. Had the facts that were only whispered in the palace-passages been known at Westminster, there can be no doubt that the religious legislation would have been even more stringent than it was; for Charles, although afraid to publish the truth, had, not long after the Restoration, secretly embraced Roman Catholicism.

The real enemy is Roman Catholicism.

A monarch who identified himself so little in religious matters with his people was not likely to serve them in foreign affairs. In fact, his guidance of England was weak and unintelligent, being determined simply by aversion to the Dutch and affection for Louis XIV. of France.

Foreign policy.

The commercial rivalry between the Dutch and English had ever since the Navigation Act (1651) been very intense. It is not astonishing therefore that the war of Oliver's time should have been followed soon by another, known as the first Dutch War of the Restoration (1664-67). Both nations proved themselves plucky seamen, and when peace was signed, England relaxed the Navigation Act somewhat in favour of the Dutch, and

The first Dutch War of the Restoration, 1664-67.

the Dutch ceded their colony New Amsterdam, which was renamed New York.

This was the time of the ascendancy of France in European politics. The leading fact of the general situation was that Louis XIV. was scheming to extend his territory at the expense of his neighbours. The logical policy of England as the rival of France would have been to support the victim against the aggressor; but Charles allowed himself to be directed by personal motives. Naturally his riotous life kept him involved in constant money difficulties. Fortunes were flung away on entertainments or were lavished on courtiers and mistresses. To get money, therefore, became Charles's first object in life, and Louis XIV., who was always a clever manager, was perfectly willing to oblige his brother of England, if he could by this means buy England's aid, or at least, her neutrality in the conflicts he anticipated. Now the French king began his aggressions in the year 1667, by invading the Spanish Netherlands; but after taking a few towns he was forced to desist, partly owing to the formation of the Triple Alliance (England, Holland, Sweden). No wonder that Louis resolved to have revenge on the Dutch nation. By the secret Treaty of Dover (1670) he won over Charles, by a handsome sum, to join him in his projected war against the Dutch; and Charles, in his turn, stipulated to avow himself a Roman Catholic and to accept aid from Louis in case his subjects, on the news of his conversion, revolted against him.

When, in the year 1672, everything was at length ready, Louis and Charles fell upon the Dutch, engaging in what, in England, is known as the Second Dutch War of the Restoration. Just as the war was about to break out, Charles, not yet daring to announce his real religion, published a decree of toleration, the so-called Declaration of Indulgence, which overriding the statutes of Parliament, gave to Roman Catholics and Dissenters freedom of worship. Such a declaration invites

sympathy in our day, but it is necessary to remember in judging it that its motives were impure. This the people felt, and when Parliament met, its tone became so threatening that the king withdrew his Declaration. When this was done (1673), the war had lost its interest for Charles, and as the English people were learning to feel more and more strongly that their real enemy were the French and not the Dutch, Charles further gave way to popular pressure and concluded peace (1674). Thus the Treaty of Dover came to nothing, except in so far as it involved the Dutch in another heroic combat for life and liberty. So stubborn was their defence under their Stadtholder, William of Orange, that Louis XIV. finally followed Charles's example and withdrew from the struggle (Peace of Nimwegen, 1678).

But the Parliament was not satisfied with having forced the king to withdraw his Declaration of Indulgence. To secure the country further against the secret machinations of the court, it added a crowning act to its intolerant religious legislation—the Test Act (1673). The Corporation Act (1661) had already purged the municipalities of non-Anglicans; by the Test Act¹ the exclusion was extended to office-holders of any kind.

Till 1681 Charles was violently opposed by a powerful body in Parliament headed by Shaftesbury. Danby, the chief minister, was attacked and impeached, and after the country had been thrown into a panic by an imaginary Popish Plot, a bill was brought forward to exclude James, duke of York, from the throne. Though this Exclusion Bill passed the Commons it was thrown out in the Lords, and when the Parliament met in Oxford, in 1681, a reaction was setting in against the violence of Shaftesbury and his followers. From 1681 to 1685 Charles was undisturbed by any opposition and ruled supreme.

¹ The Test Act is so named because every man, before taking office was *tested* with regard to his faith by his willingness or unwillingness to take the sacrament as prescribed by the Church of England.

Charles died in the year 1685, after a reign of twenty-five years. On his death-bed he did what he had been afraid to do during his life: he confessed himself a Roman Catholic.

Charles's reign is marked by an advance in the political life of the nation which deserves close attention. Under him there began to be formed for the first time parties with a definite programme and something like a permanent organization. These were the parties known as Whigs and Tories,¹ and the chief question on which they split was the question of toleration. The Tories, who were mostly the small country gentlemen, stood for no toleration for Dissenters; the Whigs, on the other hand, whose ranks were filled up largely from the great nobles and the middle classes, wished to promote this act of justice; both parties, being equally Protestant, agreed in denying toleration to the Roman Catholics. Whigs and Tories henceforward play a rôle of increasing importance in the history of England.

James II., who succeeded his brother Charles, was not only a Roman Catholic, which, of course, raised an impassable barrier between him and his subjects, but he was also imbued with the same ideas of Divine Right as his father Charles I., and he held to them as stubbornly as ever that monarch had done. Under these circumstances the new reign did not promise well.

As James was a Romanist among Protestants, he should at the very least, have kept quiet. But he seems to have been possessed with the idea that he had been made king expressly to further the Roman Catholic cause. He did not even trouble himself to proceed cautiously, and in imitation of his brother, published, in the year 1687, a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all penalties

¹ These names were originally taunts. Tory is derived from the Irish, and signifies robber. Whig comes from Whiggam, a cry with which the Scottish peasants exhorted their horses. Applied as a party name, it was intended to convey the idea of a sneaking Covenanter.

against Roman Catholics and Dissenters. Regardless of the universal discontent he published the next year a Second Declaration, and ordered it to be read from all the pulpits. Most of the clergy refused to conform to this tyrannical order, and seven bishops presented to the king a written protest. James's answer was an order that legal proceedings be taken against them. Immense excitement gathered around the trial, which occurred in June, 1688.

*The trial of
the bishops,
1688.*

These and other irregularities were borne with for a time, because the next heir to the throne, James's daughter, Mary, who was a child of his first marriage and the wife of William of Orange, was a Protestant. When, however, James's second wife gave birth in June, 1688, to a son, who by the English law would take precedence over Mary, consternation seized the whole people. The son, it was foreseen would be educated in the Romish religion, and thus the Roman Catholic dynasty would be perpetuated. As the birth of the son and the trial of the seven bishops occurred about the same time (June, 1688), England was filled with excitement from end to end. Seizing the opportunity, a few patriotic nobles invited William of Orange and his wife Mary to come to England's rescue.

*Son born to
James II.*

In November, 1688, William landed in England, and immediately the people of all classes gathered around him. The army which James sent against him refused to fight, and James found himself without a supporter. Seeing that all was lost, he sent his wife and child to France, and shortly after followed in person. Perhaps never in history had there been so swift and so bloodless a revolution.

*The Glori-
ous Revolution
of 1688.*

The Parliament, which met to deliberate on these events, declared the throne vacant, and offered it to William and Mary as joint sovereigns. As William and Mary were not the legitimate heirs, the sovereign of England was by this act virtually declared to be the nominee of the Parliament, and henceforth, the doctrine that an English king held his office by Divine Right

*Throne
offered to
William
and Mary.*

was quietly dropped. The Parliament furthermore fortified its position against the king in a Bill of Rights (*Bill of Rights*, 1689), by which it declared the law supreme over the king. Therewith the conflict between king and Parliament was over, and Parliament had again won. And the new victory was far more satisfactory than the earlier victory of Cromwell, for the ancient historical constitution was not *destroyed* this time, but merely *modified* in accordance with the national needs.

But the "Glorious Revolution" did more; it also paved the way for a religious settlement. On the motion of the Whigs, Parliament passed, almost simultaneously with the Bill of Rights, a Toleration Act, by which Dissenters were given the right of public worship. The repressive legislation indeed was not repealed, and Roman Catholics were treated as harshly as ever, but the Toleration Act satisfied the religious demands of the majority of Englishmen, and religious peace was, by means of it, established in the kingdom. The Bill of Rights and the Toleration Act inaugurated in England the era of a new and genuine constitutionalism.

The literature of the seventeenth century presents, in sharp contrast, the two theories of life which combated each other under the party names of Cavalier and Roundhead. The moral severity, the noble aspirations of Puritanism found a poet in John Milton ("Paradise Lost," 1667), and a simple-minded eulogist in John Bunyan ("Pilgrim's Progress," 1675). But the literary reign of these men and their followers was short, for the Restoration quickly buried them under its frivolity and laughter. Inevitably literature followed the currents of the contemporary life, and Milton and Bunyan were succeeded by a school of licentious dramatists and literary triflers. John Dryden (1631-1701), although himself a man of sturdy qualities, became, by the force of circumstances, the leader of the Restoration set.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV. (1643-1715).

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THE work of Richelieu had cleared the way for the supremacy of France in Europe. By destroying the political privileges of the Huguenots and by breaking the power of the nobility, he had freed the royal authority from the last restraints which weighed upon it, and had rendered it absolute. In foreign matters Richelieu had engaged France in the Thirty Years' War, and had reaped for her the benefits of the Peace of Westphalia (1648). But just at this point, as France was about to assume a dominant position, she was threatened once more, and as it proved, for the last time under the old monarchy, by civil war.

The government, upon the death of Louis XIII. (1643), passed into the hands of his queen, Anne of Austria, who was named regent for the five-year-old king. At the same time the post of first minister, which had been occupied by Richelieu,

fell to the confidant of the regent, another churchman and an Italian by birth, cardinal Mazarin. Mazarin carried out faithfully the political intentions of Richelieu, but encountered, like his predecessor, the envy of the great nobles, the chief of whom was the famous general, the prince of Condé. The Peace of Westphalia had not yet been signed, when certain nobles rose (1648) against the crown, in the hope that the new minister would prove not to be of the metal of his predecessor. The event showed that they were mistaken. Although the *Parlement* of Paris joined the high-born rebels, thus giving the new civil disturbances something of the character of a popular movement, (1648-53). the Fronde (1648-53), as the rising against Mazarin was called, was, after the first year, nothing but the struggle of the nobility to recover its feudal privileges. Such a struggle deserved to fail; and if it now failed it was chiefly because France saw that in a question between king and nobles, her self-interest bound her to the former. The Fronde may be called the death-agony of the nobility as a feudal governing class. From the time of its suppression the nobles gradually transformed themselves into a body of docile courtiers, who were rarely occupied with anything more serious than the dances and spectacles of Versailles.

The Peace of Westphalia was signed between France and the Austrian branch of the House of Hapsburg. Because France, in union with the Dutch, had been very successful in the Spanish Netherlands, she was unwilling to draw off and conclude a peace with the Spanish branch of the Hapsburgs without an adequate reward. As this was refused, the war with Spain still went on after the Peace of Westphalia had composed the rest of Europe. The Fronde occurring at this time, turned the tables and inclined the balance for some years in favour of Spain, but as soon as the Fronde was beaten down, Mazarin was able (by means of the English alliance) to win back the lost ground and force Spain to terms. Owing to foreign war and internal revolution, Spain was, in fact, at her last gasp. When

she signed with France the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659), she signed away with it the last vestige of the supremacy which she had once exercised in Europe.

The Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659.

With the glory of the Peace of the Pyrenees still lingering around him, Mazarin died (1661). Thereupon the young Louis XIV., now twenty-three years of age, resolved to take the government into his own hands, and from this forward the business of the French Government was transacted practically by himself. It is said that he once stated his political theory in the words: *l'état c'est moi* (I am the state). The phrase expresses admirably the spirit of his reign, for he held himself to be the absolute head of the state, and regarded his ministers not as the responsible heads of departments, but as clerks. Absolutism had existed in Europe long before Louis XIV., but Louis XIV. hedged the absolute monarchs around with a new divinity, and gave the doctrine of the Divine Right of kings a more splendid setting and a more general currency than it had ever had before.

The personal government of Louis XIV.

Absolutism becomes Divine Right.

Louis began auspiciously enough by giving much attention to the improvement of the machinery of government. He re-organized the diplomatic service; he rendered the administration more effective; he enlarged the army and navy; and he purged the finances of disorder and established them upon a sounder basis. The king's most efficient helper in all this was Jean Colbert (1619-83). Colbert served the king as minister of finance, and merely by putting an end to speculation and applying the principles of business order, he succeeded in turning the annual deficit of the state into a surplus.

The king's reforms.

Colbert.

This same Colbert was also a great economic thinker, and is celebrated as the father of the system of protection. He wished to increase the national wealth, and in pursuit of this aim, encouraged exportation, and, as far as possible, discouraged importation. Whether this policy be scientifically right or

Colbert establishes the protective system.

wrong, French manufacturers certainly developed greatly under Colbert, and French silks, brocades, and glass captured, and have held to this day, the markets of the world. Colbert also developed internal communications by an admirable system of roads and canals, and supported colonial enterprises, settlements being made at this time in the West Indies, Louisiana, and India.

Unfortunately Louis's successes turned his head. He was only a young man, and had governed only a few years, and now he found himself the cynosure of all Europe. In all truth he could say that he was the first power of the world. But in proportion as he found that his neighbours were no match for him, he began to be tempted by the thought of making them his dependents. It was not a high ambition, this, still it won the day with him. In the year 1667, therefore, Louis entered upon a career of aggression and conquest, which, after a few brilliant results, led to such a succession of disasters that the man whose progress had been attended by clouds of incense, wafted by admiring courtiers, closed his career in ignominy.

Four great wars substantially filled the rest of Louis's life. They were: 1, The War of Devolution (1667-68); 2, the War with the Dutch (1672-78); 3, the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-97); 4, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14).

In 1667 Louis suddenly invaded the Spanish Netherlands. The fact that he tried to justify himself by putting forth some vague claims of his Spanish wife to these territories, only added hypocrisy to violence. His well-appointed army took place after place. Spain was too weak to offer resistance, and if the Dutch, frightened at the prospect of such a neighbour as Louis, had not bestirred themselves, Louis would have overrun all the Spanish Netherlands. The Triple Alliance of the Dutch, England, and Sweden, formed by the rapid ingenuity of the republican patriot, John de Witt, who was at this time at the head of the Dutch Government, bade Louis halt. Louis, on

occasion, could distinguish the possible from the impossible. Having already made a secret Treaty with the emperor for the future partition of Spain, he declared himself satisfied with a frontier strip, and retired. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) formally secured him in his bold theft (1668).

For the next few years Louis seemed to be dominated by a single thought—revenge upon the Dutch, and the plan he formed was to sever the Dutch from all their friends and allies, and then fall upon them un-*The isolation of the Dutch.* awares. The diplomatic campaign, preliminary to the declaration of war, was crowned by complete success. Sweden and the emperor were detached from the Dutch by treaties of neutrality; and Charles II., by the Treaty of Dover (1670), was even pledged to join the forces of England with the French in the proposed war. In the spring of 1672 everything was ready. While the combined French and English fleets engaged the Dutch fleet under the celebrated Admiral Ruyter in the Channel, the French army, led by Condé and Turenne, invaded the territory of the Seven United Provinces by following the course of the Rhine.

In a few weeks most of the provinces were in the hands of the French. And now a terrible indignation swept over the alarmed Dutch. They fell upon and murdered the republican leader, de Witt, whom they blamed for their calamities, and would be satisfied with nothing *The House of Orange to the front.* less than the re-instatement of the House of Orange, which, at the close of the Spanish War, had lost its influence. In an outburst of enthusiasm, William III. of Orange was made Stadtholder and supreme commander on sea and land. This William was far from being a genius, but he was *The character of William.* sprung from an heroic race, and the responsibility for a nation's safe-keeping which was put upon him in a stern crisis, brought out his best qualities. The English ambassador, on the occasion of the French invasion, invited him to submit, urging that it was easy to see that the Republic was lost. "I know one means of never seeing it," he replied, "to die in the last ditch." It was this spirit that now steeled

the temper of his people and enabled them to emulate the deeds of their ancestors against Spain.

Before Louis could take the heart of the Netherlands, the city of Amsterdam, the Dutch had, at the order of William, cut the dykes, and restored their country to the original dominion of the waters. Louis had to retreat; his opportunity was lost. But Europe was now thoroughly aroused, and before many months had passed, there had rallied to the cause of the Dutch, the emperor, the states of the Empire, and Spain. In the year 1674 the position of Louis was still further weakened. In that year the state of English public opinion forced Charles II. to abandon Louis and make his peace with the Dutch. Louis was thereupon left to face a great continental coalition with no ally but remote Sweden. The odds in a struggle with all Europe were patently against Louis, and although the superiority of French organization and French generalship enabled him to win every pitched battle with his foes, he was glad enough to end the war when peace was offered. By the treaty of Nimwegen (1678) he was permitted to incorporate the Franche Comté (the Free County of Burgundy) with France.

The second war, too, although it had roused a European alliance against Louis, had brought him its prize of a new province. Louis was now at the zenith of his glory. The imperious temper he developed is well exhibited by an event of the year 1681. He formed Chambers of Re-union which handed over to him considerable territories in the east and north-east of France. At the same time and in a period of complete peace he fell upon the city of Strassburg, the last stronghold of the Empire in Alsace, and incorporated it with France. After a short war with Spain he concluded the Truce of Ratisbon in 1683, and obtained possession of Strassburg and the "re-united" districts for twenty years.

A cloud that settled on the spirit of the king at this time prognosticated a monstrous action. The frivolous, pleasure-loving

Louis, having fallen under the influence of a devout Roman Catholic lady, Madame de Maintenon, the gover- *Madame de Maintenon-*
 ness of some of his children, was suddenly seized with religious exaltation. To Madame de Maintenon the eradication of heresy was a noble work, and Louis, taking the cue from her, began gradually to persecute the Protestants. At first, innocently enough, rewards were offered to voluntary converts; then the government proceeded to take more drastic measures; and, finally, in 1685, two years after Louis had formally married Madame de Maintenon, and had thus become thoroughly enslaved to her policy, he revoked the Edict of Nantes, by virtue of which the Huguenots had enjoyed a partial freedom of worship for almost one hundred years. Therewith the Protestant faith was proscribed within the boundaries of France. The *The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.*
 blow which by this insane measure struck the prosperity of the country was more injurious than a disastrous war. Thousands of Huguenots—the lowest estimate speaks of 50,000 families—fled across the border and carried their industry, their capital, and their civilization to the enemies of France—chiefly to England, Holland, America and Prussia.

The occupation of Strassburg and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes were events belonging to an interval of peace. But Louis was already planning a new war. He wished to take advantage of the war between the emperor and the Turks to convert the Truce of Ratisbon into a definite peace, and so to secure permanent possession of the territories seized since 1678. When his preparations became known, the emperor, the Dutch, and Spain concluded, at the instigation of William of Orange, a new alliance, called the League of Augsburg. Happily before the war had well begun, a lucky chance won England for the allies. In 1688 James II. was overthrown by the "glorious revolution," and William of Orange became king of England. As the temper of the English people had at the same time become thoroughly anti-French, William had no difficulty in persuading them to join Europe against the French

England joins Europe against Louis.

monarch. Thus in the new war—called the war of the League of Augsburg—Louis was absolutely without a friend.

This third war (1688–97) is, for the general student, *The War of the League of Augsburg, 1688–97.* thoroughly unmemorable. Battles were fought on land and on sea, but no one winning a decisive success, all the combatants from mere exhaustion were glad to sign, on the basis of, practically, mutual restitutions, the Peace of Ryswick (1697).

The war of the League of Augsburg was the first war by which Louis had gained nothing. The fact should have served him as a warning that the tide had turned. And *The Spanish inheritance.* perhaps he would not have been so utterly scornful of the hostility of Europe if there had not opened up to him at this time a peculiarly tempting prospect. The king of Spain, Charles II. had no heir, and at his death, which might occur at any time, the vast Spanish dominion—Spain and her colonies, Naples and Milan, the Spanish Netherlands—would fall no one knew to whom. The Austrian branch of Hapsburg had, of course, a claim, but Louis fancied that his children had a better title still in right of his first wife, who was the oldest sister of the Spanish king. The matter was so involved legally that it is impossible to say to this day where the better right lay.

Anticipating a struggle with Europe over the coming inheritance, Louis entered into negotiations with his chief adversary, William III. of England, long before the death of Charles II. had made the inheritance a burning question. Partition treaties were accordingly agreed on by the two leading powers of Europe, as the most plausible settlement of the impending difficulties. But when, on the death of Charles II. of Spain, November, 1700, it was found that the Spanish king had made a will in favour of Philip, the duke of Anjou, one of Louis's younger grandsons, Louis threw the partition treaties to the winds. He sent Philip to Madrid to assume the rule of the undivided dominion of Spain. The House of Bourbon now ruled the whole

Louis signs and rejects the partition treaty.

European west. "There are no longer any Pyrenees," were the words of the Spanish ambassador.

It was some time before Europe recovered from the shock of its surprise over this bold step, and nerved itself to a resistance. William, of course, was indefatigable *The Grand Alliance.* in arousing the Dutch and English, and at last, in 1701, he succeeded in creating the so-called Grand Alliance, composed of the emperor, England, the Dutch, and the leading German princes. Before the war had fairly begun, however, William, the stubborn, life-long enemy of Louis, had died (March, 1702). In the war which broke out, called the war of the Spanish Succession, 1702-14, his spirit is to be accounted none the less a potent combatant.

In the new war the position of Louis was more favourable than it had been in the preceding war. He commanded the resources not only of France but also of Spain; his soldiers still had the reputation of being invincible; and his armies had the advantage of *The combatants compared.* being under his single direction. The allies, on the other hand, were necessarily divided by conflicting interests. What advantages they had lay in these two circumstances, which in the end proved decisive: the allies possessed greater resources of money and men, and they developed in the English duke of Marlborough and in prince Eugene of Savoy two eminent commanders. Equally gifted, they planned their campaigns in common, with sole reference to the good of the cause, and they shared the honours of victory without the jealousy which often stains brilliant names.

Not even the Thirty Years' War assumed such proportions as the struggle in which Europe now engaged. It was literally universal, and raged at one and the same time, at all the exposed points of the French-Spanish possessions. The details of this gigantic struggle have no place here. We must content ourselves *The war of the Spanish Succession is a world struggle.* with noting the striking military actions and the final settlement.

The first great battle of the war occurred in 1704, at

Blenheim, near the upper Danube. The battle of Blenheim was the result of a bold, strategical move of Marlborough, straight across western Germany, in order to save Vienna from a well-planned attack of the French. Together with Eugene, Marlborough captured or cut to pieces the French army. In 1706 Marlborough won a splendid victory at Ramillies, in the Netherlands, and in the same year Eugene defeated the French at Turin and drove them out of Italy. These signal successes were followed in the year 1708 and 1709 by the great victories of Oudenarde and Malplaquet. Oudenarde and Malplaquet left France prostrate, and seemed to open up the road to Paris.

The road to Paris, however, owing to a number of unexpected occurrences, which utterly changed the face of European politics, was never taken. In 1710 the Whig ministry in England, which had supported Marlborough and advocated the war, was overthrown, and a Tory ministry, in favour of peace at any price, succeeded. Thus from 1710 on, Marlborough's actions in the field were paralyzed. The next year was marked by still another calamity.

In 1711 the emperor Joseph died, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles VI. As Charles was also the candidate of the Grand Alliance for the Spanish throne, the death of Joseph held out the prospect of the renewal of the vast empire of Charles V. Such a development did not lie in the interests of England and the Dutch, and these two nations now began to withdraw from the grand alliance and urge a settlement with the French. Louis, who was utterly exhausted and broken by defeat, met him more than half way. In 1713, the peace of Utrecht ended the war of the Spanish succession.

By the peace of Utrecht the Spanish dominions were divided, everybody managing to get some share in the booty. First, Philip V., Louis's grandson, was recognized as king of Spain and her colonies, on condition that France and

Spain should remain for ever separated. Next the emperor was provided for; he received the bulk of the Italian possessions (Milan and Naples), together with the Spanish Netherlands (henceforth the Austrian Netherlands). The Dutch were appeased with a number of border fortresses in the Austrian Netherlands, as a barrier against France; and England took some of the French possessions in the New World, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia (Arcadia) and the Hudson Bay Territory, together with the Spanish rock of Gibraltar, which gave her the command of the Mediterranean Sea. The ambitious and dissatisfied emperor refused, at first, to accept this peace, but he was forced to give way and confirm its leading arrangements by the peace of Rastadt (1714).

Shortly after the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, Louis XIV. died (September, 1715). The material prosperity that he and Colbert had created in his early years had vanished, and he left a debt-burdened country and a famished population. His disastrous end was a merited penalty for a foolish ambition. But to his contemporaries he remained to the day of his death, the *grand monarque*; and that title is a good summary of him as he appears in history, for it conveys the impression of a showy splendour which is not without the suspicion of hollowness.

The brilliancy which Louis's long reign lent France, cast a spell upon the rest of the world. Louis's court, which he established at Versailles, became the model court of Europe, and French civilization was mimicked all the way from London to Moscow. A number of great dramatists, Corneille (died 1684), Racine (died 1699), and Molière (died 1673) added literary distinction to Louis's reign, and altogether we cannot fail to recognize that the age of the *grand monarque* possessed beneath the artificial polish genuine dignity and intellectual power.

The peace of Utrecht, 1713.

Louis's death, 1715.

Brilliance of French civilization.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE RISE OF RUSSIA UNDER PETER THE GREAT (1689-1725) AND CATHARINE THE GREAT (1762-96); THE DECAY OF SWEDEN.

LITERATURE.—Wakeman (as before).

Hassall, *The Balance of Power*, 1715-1789.

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Morfill, *Russia*.

Walliszewski, *Peter the Great*.

Nisbet Bain, *Charles XII.*, and *The Successor of Peter the Great*.

ATTENTION has been called in an earlier section to the unification of the Russians under the dynasty of Rurik; to their Christianization by Greek missionaries; to the Mongol invasions; and to the liberation of the people under Ivan III., known as the Great (1480). Ivan IV. (1533-84), known as the Terrible, added to these triumphs. By the conquest of Astrachan from the Tartars, he pushed the Russian boundary southward to the Caspian Sea.

The House of Rurik came to an end in 1598, and for the next ten years Russia was in a condition of anarchy, the whole state seeming on the verge of falling a prey to its jealous western neighbours, Sweden and Poland. In 1613 the national party, however, succeeded in putting one of its own number, Michael Romanoff, upon the throne, and under the House of this prince the state rapidly revived. In a very few decades, the Romanoffs had not only banished the Polish and Swedish influence, but had also acquired the vast territory of Siberia.

But the Romanoffs came to particular honour in the person

of Peter, who succeeded to the throne, together with his older brother Ivan, in the year 1682. As the new czars were, at that time, still boys, and Ivan little better than an imbecile, the government was exercised for some time by an older sister, Sophia, in the capacity of regent. However, in 1689, Peter, who had then attained his seventeenth year, resolved to take matters into his own hands, summarily declared the regency at an end, and sent Sophia to a nunnery. As the sickly Ivan (died 1696) was harmless, Peter allowed him to play the part of co-ruler for the few more years that he lived.

In order to understand Peter's programme, it is necessary to review the chief elements of the political and intellectual position of Russia at the time of his accession. In the second half of the seventeenth century the Russians were still in life and manners an Asiatic people, who were connected with European culture by but a single bond—their Christian faith. Their political situation seemed, at first sight, more hopeful. But in spite of the vast area of the state, which included the eastern plain of Europe and the whole north of Asia, Russia was so cooped in on the west and south by a ring of great powers, Persia, Turkey, Poland, and Sweden, that she was practically an inland state. Finally, it is necessary to understand the Russian constitution. The czar was absolute master, but there existed two checks upon his power—the patriarch, the head of the Church, who exercised great influence in religious matters, and the Streltsi, czar's body-guard, who, because they were a privileged force, felt inclined to regard themselves superior to their master. This whole composite situation Peter soon seized with a statesman-like grasp, and admirably moulded it, through the efforts of a long rule, to his own purposes. He set himself in the main, three aims, and met in all a degree of success which is fairly astonishing. These aims were the following: He resolved to make the connection between Russia and Europe strong and intimate; he laboured to open a way to the west by gaining a hold on the Black and on the Baltic seas; and, lastly, he

The accession of Peter, 1682.

The three great aims of Peter's life.

prepared to rid himself of the restraint put upon his authority by the patriarch and the Streltsi.

Peter is a difficult person to understand. One aspect presents him as a murderer, another as a monster of sensuality, *Peter's character.* and still another as a hero. We have the key to his character when we remember that he was a barbarian of genius—never anything more. With barbarian eagerness he assimilated every influence that he encountered, good and evil alike, and surrendered himself, for the time being, to its sway with all his might. Certainly, his distinguishing characteristic was an indomitable energy: Peter's life burned at a white heat.

Peter's first chance to distinguish himself came in the year 1695. The emperor was at that time waging war against the Turks, who were beginning to show the first symptoms of collapse. Seeing his opportunity, *Peter's first conquest: Azov.* Peter resolved to make use of the fortunate embarrassment of the Turks to acquire a southern outlet for Russia. In 1696 he conquered the port of Azov. The future now opened more confidently to him, and before taking another step he determined to visit the West and study the wonders of its civilization with his own eyes.

Peter spent the year 1697-98 in travel through Germany, Holland, and England. The journey was meant purely as a voyage of instruction. Throughout its course Peter *Peter's journey of instruction.* was indefatigable in his efforts to get at the bottom of things, at the methods of western government, at the sources of western wealth, at the systems of western trade and manufacture. At Zaandam, in Holland, he hired out for a time as a common ship-carpenter, and everywhere he attended surgical lectures, visited paper-mills, flour-mills, printing presses, in short, was untiring in his efforts to assimilate, not a part, but the whole of western civilization.

The opportunity for putting the results of his trip to the test of practice came sooner than Peter expected. At *The Streltsi disbanded.* Vienna he heard that the Streltsi had revolted. He set out post-haste for home, established order, and then

took a fearful vengeance, executing over a thousand of the luckless guards with terrible tortures. Rumour reports that Peter in his savage fury himself played the headsman. Sovereign and executioner—this combination of offices filled by Peter, clearly exhibits the chasm that then yawned between Europe and Russia. But no one will deny that there was method in Peter's madness. The Streltsi had been a constant centre of disaffection, and were now replaced by a regular army, organized on the European pattern and dependent on the czar.

Peter's reforms now crowded thick and fast. Everything foreign was fostered at the expense of everything national. Thus he introduced western dress and opposed the Russian custom of wearing long beards. But the clergy especially became increasingly suspicious of Peter's policy. As the discontent of the clergy was a danger to the throne and a hindrance to reforms, the czar resolved to make that order more dependent on himself. When the patriarch died in 1700, Peter committed the functions of the primate to a synod which he himself appointed and controlled, and thus the czar became the head of the Church as he already was the head of the state.

*The Church
made de-
pendent on
the Czar.*

To enumerate more than a part of Peter's activities in behalf of his state is quite impossible. He built roads and canals; he encouraged commerce and industry; and he erected common schools. The fruits of these vast civilizing labours ripened of course slowly, and Peter did not live to gather them. But his efforts at making himself strong through a navy and army, and at extending his territory to the sea, were crowned with a number of brilliant and almost immediate successes.

*His civiliz-
ing labours.*

After his return from the west, Peter was more desirous than ever of gaining a hold on the Baltic. Azov, on the Black Sea, was worth little to him as long as the Turks held the Dardanelles. The west, it was clear, could be best gained by the northern route. But the enterprise was far from easy. The Baltic coast was largely held by Sweden, and

*Peter turns
to the Baltic.*

Sweden, the first power of the north, was prepared to resist any attempt to displace her with all her energy.

The rise of Sweden to the position of the first power of the north, dates from the time of Gustavus Adolphus (1611-32).

The greatness of Sweden. Gustavus extended his rule over almost the whole of the northern and eastern shore of the Baltic, and by his interference in the Thirty Years' War,

his daughter, Christina, who succeeded him, acquired, as her share in the German booty, western Pomerania and the land at the mouth of the Weser and the Elbe (1648). Sweden was now for a short time the rival of France for the first honours in Europe. Unfortunately, her power rested solely on her military organization, not on her people and her resources, and, as experience proves, no purely military state is likely to live long. But as the Swedish rulers of the seventeenth century were capable men, especially in war, they succeeded in maintaining the supremacy which Gustavus had won. However, they roused the antagonism of so many neighbours that it was only a question of time when these neighbours would combine against the common foe. Denmark to the west, Brandenburg-Prussia to the south, Poland and Russia to the east, had all paid for Sweden's growth with severe losses, and nursed a deep grudge against her in patience and silence.

The League of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, 1700. The long-awaited opportunity for revenge seemed at length to have arrived, when in the year 1697, Charles XII., a boy of fifteen, came to the throne. His youth and inexperience appeared to mark him as an easy victim. Therefore, Denmark, Poland, and Russia now formed a league against him to recover their lost territories (1700).

The allies had, however, made their reckoning without the host. Charles XII. turned out, in spite of his youth, to be the most warlike member of a warlike race. But beyond his military qualities he lacked almost every virtue of a ruler. He was Don Quixote promoted to a throne, and though he could fight with admirable fury against wind-mills, he could not govern and he could not build.

Before the coalition was ready to strike, young Charles gathered his troops and fell upon the enemy. As the forces of Denmark, Poland, and Russia were necessarily widely separated, he calculated that if he could meet them in turn, the likelihood of victory would be much increased. He laid his plans accordingly.

The marvelous campaign of 1700.

In the spring of 1700, he suddenly crossed from Sweden to the island of Seeland, besieged Copenhagen, and obliged the king of Denmark to make peace. The ink of this treaty was hardly dry before Charles was off again like a flash. This time he sailed to the Gulf of Finland, where Peter was besieging Narva. Peter had with him at Narva some 50,000 men, while Charles was at the head of only 8,000; but Charles, nevertheless, ordered the attack, and his well-disciplined Swedes soon swept the confused masses of the ill-trained Russians off the field like chaff. The Russians now fell back into the interior, and Charles was free to turn upon his last and most hated enemy, Augustus the Strong, king of Poland. Before another year had passed, Charles had defeated Augustus as roundly as the sovereigns of Denmark and Russia.

Victory of Narva.

Thus far the war had been managed admirably; Charles might have made his conditions and gone home. But obstinate as he was, he preferred to have revenge on Augustus, whom he regarded as the instigator of the alliance, and resolved not to give up until he had forced his adversary to resign the Polish crown, and had appointed as successor a personal adherent.

Charles's mistake.

Poland was at this time in a condition hardly better than anarchy. The nobles held all the power and were sovereign on their own lands. The only remaining witnesses of a previous unity were a Diet, which never transacted any business, and an elected king, who was allowed no power and had nothing to do. In the year 1697, the Poles had even elected to the kingship a foreigner, Augustus the Strong, elector of Saxony. Now when in the year 1701 king Augustus was defeated by Charles, the majority of the Poles

Anarchy in Poland.

were glad rather than sorry, for Augustus had engaged in the war without asking the consent of the Polish Diet ; but when Charles insisted on forcing a monarch of his own choosing on the Poles, a national party naturally gathered around Augustus, who, although a foreigner, was, nevertheless, the rightful king.

For many years following the brilliant campaign of 1700 Charles hunted Augustus over the marshy and wooded plains of Poland, and though always victorious, he could never quite succeed in utterly crushing his enemy. Even his taking Warsaw and crowning his dependent, Stanislaus Lesczinski, king, did not change the situation. Finally, in 1706, Charles decided on a radical measure. He suddenly invaded Saxony, to which Augustus had withdrawn, and there wrung a treaty from Augustus, in which that monarch acknowledged his rival, Stanislaus, king of Poland. Of course, a peace signed under such condition was illusory. In fact, Augustus broke it as soon as an opportunity offered.

But the peace with Augustus at length set Charles free to act against the Russians. Too much time had been lost already, for since Peter's defeat at Narva, great things had happened. The czar had indeed fallen back, but he was resolutely determined to try again, and while Charles was, during six long years, pursuing spectres in Poland, Peter carefully re-organized his troops, and conquered half the Swedish provinces on the Baltic. In 1703 he founded on the newly-acquired territory the city St Petersburg, destined to become the modern capital of Russia.

Charles, immediately after having made his peace with Augustus, resolved on a decisive stroke against the Russians. He marched (1708) for the old capital, Moscow, but was overcome by the hardships of the march and the rigours of the climate before he met the enemy. When Peter came up with him at Pultava (1709), the Swedes fought with their accustomed bravery, but their sufferings had worn them out. And now, Narva was avenged. The Swedish army was literally destroyed, and Charles, accompanied by

a few hundred horsemen, barely succeeded in making his escape to Turkey. The verdict of Pultava was destined to be final. Sweden stepped down from her position as a great power into obscurity, and a new power, Russia, ruled henceforth in the north.

Russia takes the place of Sweden.

Charles remained in Turkey for five years, obstinately set on involving the Turks in a war on his behalf. When he returned (1714) to his native country, the Swedish destiny was already fulfilled, for the surrounding powers had taken advantage of the king's long absence to help themselves to whatever part of Sweden they coveted. Charles met them, indeed, with his accustomed valour, but his country was exhausted, and his people alienated.

Charles in Turkey.

In 1718, while besieging Frederikshald in Norway, he was killed in the trenches. His sister, Ulrica

The death of Charles, 1718.

Eleanor, who succeeded him, was compelled by the aristocratic party to agree to a serious limitation of the royal prerogative. Then the tired Swedes hastened to sign a peace with their enemies. Denmark agreed to the principle of mutual restitutions; the German states of Hanover and Brandenburg acquired payments out of the Swedish provinces in Germany; Augustus the Strong received recognition as king of Poland; but Peter, who had contributed the most to the defeat of Charles, got too, by the Treaty of Nystäd (1721), the lion's share of the booty: Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia, in fact, all the Swedish possessions of the eastern Baltic except Finland.

The Russian acquisitions.

Peter was now nearing the end of his reign. His rule had brought Russia a new splendour, but he was not spared defeat and chagrin. For one thing his efforts in behalf of Russian civilization were not appreciated.

The execution of Alexis.

The extreme nationalists among the Russians objecting to being lifted out of their barbarism, soon fixed their hopes upon Peter's son and heir, Alexis, and Alexis, for his part, shunned no trouble to exhibit his sympathy with a re-actionary policy. With a heavy heart Peter had to face the possibility of a successor who would undo his cherished life-

work. For years he took pains to win Alexis over to his views, but when his efforts proved without avail, he resolved, for the sake of the state, to strike his son down. The resolution we may praise; the method was terrible. The czarewitz was tortured in prison until he died (1718), and the probability is that the father presided in person at the execution of the son.

When Peter died (1725), it seemed for a time as if Russia would return to her former Asiatic condition. Catherine I., Peter's wife, who reigned till 1727, made an important Treaty in 1726 with Austria. On her death and throughout the reign of Peter II. (1727-1730), the old Russian party triumphed. But with the reigns of Anna Ivanovna (1730-1740), and of Elizabeth (1741-1762), Russia took up the threads of Peter the Great's policy and gradually obtained recognition as a European Power. Her influence made itself felt in the Polish Succession war (1733-1735), while towards the close of the Austrian Succession war (1740-1748) her intervention was invited by England and Holland. In the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) the czarina took a leading part in opposing Frederick the Great. Russia, however, did not definitely take her place with the Great Powers till the accession of a remarkable woman, who had enough good sense to accept the traditions of Peter's reign, and enough

Catharine II., 1762-96. power to continue them. This was Catharine II., the wife of Peter III. Catharine, by birth a petty princess of Germany, had married Peter III., when he was heir-apparent. She was not only intelligent and energetic, but also wholly unscrupulous, and shortly after Peter III., who was crotchety and half insane, had ascended the throne (1762), she had him strangled by two of her favourites. Although she thus acquired the supreme power by means of a crime, once in possession of it, she wielded it with consummate skill. Being of western birth, she naturally favoured western civilization. Peter the Great himself had not been more anxious to found schools, create industries and foster commerce. More important still, she took up Peter's idea of expansion toward the west.

With Sweden deprived of its ascendancy in the north of Europe by Peter, the only other European powers which checked the advance of Russia, were Poland and Turkey. Catharine gave her life to the abasement of these two European neighbours, and before she died she had succeeded in destroying Poland and in bringing Turkey to her feet.

Catharine plans to destroy Poland and Turkey.

The hopeless anarchy of Poland had been brought home to every one in Europe, when Charles XII. of Sweden succeeded in holding the country for a number of years with a mere handful of troops (1702-1707). The weakness of the country was due to the selfish nobles and their impossible constitution. To realize the ludicrous unfitness of this instrument, one need only recall the famous provisions called *liberum veto*, which conferred on every noble the right to forbid by his single veto the adoption by the Diet of a measure distasteful to himself. By *liberum veto* one man could absolutely stop the machinery of government. Under these circumstances Poland fell a prey to internal conflicts, and soon to ambitious foreign neighbours.

Polish anarchy. Liberum veto.

It is useless to investigate what one person or power is responsible for the idea of the partition of Poland. The idea was in the air, and the three powers which bordered on Poland and benefited from the partition—Russia, Austria, and Prussia, governed at the time by Catharine, Maria Theresa, and Frederick—must share the odium of the act among them.

Russia, Prussia, and Austria equally responsible for the partition.

Diplomatically considered, the First Partition of Poland was a triumph for Frederick the Great; for Catharine was counting on pocketing the whole booty, when Frederick stepped in, and by associating Austria with himself forced the czarina to divide with her neighbours.

The First Partition, 1772.

The First Partition belonging to the year 1772 did not destroy Poland. It simply peeled off slices for the lucky highwaymen: the land beyond the Dwina went to Russia, Galicia to Austria, and the Province of West Prussia to Prussia. But the

precedent of interference had been once established, and a few years later the fate of Poland was sealed by a Second and a Third Partition (1793 and 1795). Poland ceased to exist as a state, when her last army, gallantly led by Kosciusko, went down before the Russians; but as a people she exists to this day, and stubbornly nurses in her heart the hope of a resurrection.

Her signal success over the Poles excited Catharine to increased efforts against the Turks. In two wars (first war, 1768-74; second war, 1787-92) she succeeded in utterly defeating the Turks, and in extending her territory along the Black Sea to the Dniester. It was a fair acquisition, but it did not satisfy her ambitious nature. She left the dream of Constantinople as a heritage to her successors, who have cherished it tenderly, and during the hundred years since her death have struggled patiently to push their frontiers to the Bosphorus.

Catharine left Russia at her death (1796) the greatest power of the north. Her life, like that of Peter, is stained with crime and immorality, but these two have the honour of having lifted Russia almost without aid, and often in spite of herself, to her present eminent position.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

LITERATURE.—Wakeman (as before).

Hassall (as before).

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Brackenbury, *Frederick the Great*.

THE cradle of the modern kingdom of Prussia is the Mark of Brandenburg. Concerning the Mark we have been told in the medieval section how it became an electorate, and how it passed into the hands of the House of Hohenzollern. Since the medieval period two further events had occurred which contributed to prepare the Brandenburg state for the rôle which it was destined to play. The elector of Brandenburg and his people, had, at the time of Luther, become Protestant, and in the early seventeenth century the elector had fallen heir to considerable territories in the extreme west and in the extreme east of Germany—Cleves in the Rhine country, and the duchy of Prussia.

The duchy of Prussia thus joined to the Brandenburg possessions had an interesting history. To understand it we must go back to the Middle Age, when the term Prussia was applied rather vaguely to all the land which lay along the eastern Baltic and was inhabited by a heathen and Slav tribe called Prussians. This territory had been conquered in the thirteenth century by the military order of the Teutonic Knights, who had ruled and Christianized it,

but were themselves conquered in the fifteenth century by the king of Poland. The king of Poland thereupon made the following arrangement: he incorporated the western half of Prussia with his own dominions, and gave back the eastern half to the Knights upon the condition that they hold it as a fief of his crown. East Prussia thus became a feudal dependency of Poland, and its status was not changed when at the time of Luther the Knights became Protestant, the order was broken up, and the then grand master, Albert, a younger member of the House of Hohenzollern, assumed the title of duke (1525). The line of this Albert having failed in 1618, the duchy of Prussia, or more exactly of East Prussia, fell to his relative of Brandenburg.

Still Brandenburg, thus enlarged by East Prussia and Cleves, played no rôle in Germany or Europe until the accession in 1640 of Frederick William, known as the Great Elector. At the time of his accession, the Thirty Years' War was raging, and Brandenburg had been reduced to the greatest misery. But Frederick William, although only twenty years old, displayed an admirable energy, made peace all round, and when the great Treaty of Westphalia was signed (1648), received valuable additions of territory—namely, a number of secularized bishoprics (Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Camin, Minden) and the eastern half of Pomerania. Brandenburg had a valid claim to all of Pomerania, but the claim could not be made good, as a great power, Sweden, took the western and better half of Pomerania for herself.

Now the domestic situation of Frederick William was, at his accession, as follows: he found himself at the head of three separate territorial groups—the Brandenburg territory, the Cleves territory, and the Prussian territory—and each group was organized as a separate little state with its own Diet, its own army, and its own administration. Frederick William wisely resolved to replace this diversity by uniformity. He therefore dismissed the Diets and made himself absolute; he united the three local armies under a

*The Great
Elector,
1640-88.*

*The domestic
problem.*

single national organization ; and he merged the three separate administrations into one. He thus amalgamated his three territories, and to all intents and purposes created a united monarchy of which he was as completely master as Louis XIV. was of France.

Frederick William was also a man with territorial aspirations. In order to be ready when the chance came he tirelessly increased and perfected his army. And the chance did come, for in 1655 there broke out a war between Poland and Sweden. In this war the Great Elector put himself forward so successfully, that, after a great deal of skilful and unscrupulous manœuvring, he wrung from the king of Poland a treaty, by which that monarch renounced the suzerainty over East Prussia, and gave the duchy to Frederick William in full sovereignty. This was his greatest political triumph.

Frederick William acquires East Prussia in full sovereignty.

A much greater military triumph he won a few years later. In 1672, Louis XIV. fell upon Holland, and Frederick William, together with the emperor, marched to the assistance of the hard-pressed Republic. In order to draw the elector back from the Rhine, Louis now persuaded the Swedes, his only ally, to invade Brandenburg. The elector thereupon hastened homeward at his best speed, and succeeded in surprising and utterly defeating the Swedes at Fehrbellin (June, 1675). The military reputation of Brandenburg was henceforth established, and in the course of the next few years the elector clinched matters by driving the Swedes completely out of Pomerania. But when the general European war came to an end, by the Treaty of Nimwegen (1678), Frederick William was not allowed to keep his conquest. Louis XIV. stood faithfully by his ally, Sweden, and insisted that she should not pay for her help to him by territorial sacrifices. With a sore heart, Frederick William had to give way, and in a treaty, signed near Paris, at St Germain-en-Laye (1679), he regretfully restored to the Swedes what he had won.

He defeats the Swedes.

The Great Elector died in the year 1688 and was succeeded by his son Frederick, a man of an altogether different type. Having been weak and deformed from his birth and incapable of hard work, he had learned to care very much more about the pleasures of the court than about the duties of his office. His reign is memorable for one fact only: he won for the elector of Brandenburg the new title of king in Prussia. The title was granted by the emperor Leopold, in order to secure Frederick's alliance in the War of the Spanish Succession which was just breaking out. On January 18, 1701, the coronation of Frederick took place at Königsberg, the capital of East Prussia, and henceforth the elector Frederick III. of Brandenburg was known by his higher title of king Frederick I. The title, king in Prussia,¹ was adopted in preference to that of king of Brandenburg, because Frederick wished to be king in full independence, and that was possible only in Prussia, as Prussia was not a part of the empire. The name Prussia was henceforth used as a common designation for all the Hohenzollern states, and gradually supplanted the use of the older designation, Brandenburg.

Frederick's successor, king Frederick William I. (1713-40), is a curious reversion to an older type. He was the Great Elector over again, with all his practical good sense, but without his genius for diplomatic business and his political ambition. He gave all his time and his attention to the army and the administration. By close thrift he managed to maintain some 80,000 troops, which almost brought his army up to the standing armies of such states as France and Austria. And excellent troops they were, for an iron discipline moulded them into the most precise military engine then to be found in Europe. In his civil government he continued the work, begun by the Great Elector, of centralizing the various departments. A "General

¹ The form of the title, king *in* Prussia, was due to the fact that all of Prussia did not belong to the Hohenzollern: Poland still held the western half, and might reasonably have objected to the title, king *of* Prussia.

Directory" took complete control of finances and administration, and its severe demands gradually called into being the famous Prussian bureaucracy, which in spite of its inevitable "red tape," is notable to this day for its effectiveness and its devotion to duty. Certain it is that no contemporary government had so modern and so thrifty an administration as that of Frederick William.

Creation of the Prussian bureaucracy.

For these creations of an efficient army and a unified civil service, both of which were made to depend directly and solely upon the crown, and for a healthy financial system, which yielded that rare blessing, an annual surplus, Frederick William I. deserves to be called Prussia's greatest internal king. But he did not contribute much to the territorial growth of Prussia, owing largely to his distrust in his power to handle international affairs. However, he was successful enough in the one war which he undertook. That was a war against Sweden in the period of Sweden's abasement after the defeat of Pultava. As all of the Swedish neighbours, Russia, Denmark, and Poland, were helping themselves to Swedish territories, Frederick William did not see why Prussia should be left out, and in one rapid campaign conquered Swedish Pomerania. In a peace signed (1720) after Charles XII.'s death, he declared himself satisfied with the territory about Stettin, which furnished Prussia a needed port upon the Baltic.

Frederick William's one war.

He acquires Stettin.

In 1725, alarmed at the alliance between the emperor Charles VI. and Philip of Spain, he joined England and France in the League of Hanover. The following year, however, he joined the emperor, who promised to guarantee his house the reversion of the duchies of Berg and Ravenstein.

Sturdy and hard-working as Frederick William was, he was also crotchety. For example: his ideal of the king was the patriarch, and he was constantly prying into people's private affairs and making their lives a burden. His own family he treated in the same tyrannical way, with results

that were not always pleasant. Once he even brought matters to the verge of a great tragedy. That was when his son and heir, Frederick, known afterward as the Great, resolved to withdraw himself from his father's contemptuous treatment of him by flight into foreign parts. Unluckily for the young prince the plan failed, and the old king, lashed into a white heat, seemed at first to be bent on taking his son's life. Even after he had been moved to take better counsel, he was still resolved on punishment, and put the crown prince through such an apprenticeship in the civil and military administrations from the lowest grades upward, as perhaps no other royal personage has ever received. The discipline doubtless awakened resentment in Frederick, the gay prince; but Frederick, the serious-minded king, was enabled thereby to know every branch of his vast administration.

*Clash
between
father and
son.*

In the year 1740 Frederick II., who had now reached the age of twenty-eight, succeeded his father. As he had spent the last years of his father's life in retirement, giving himself up to the pursuit of art and literature, everything else was expected of him, when he ascended the throne, rather than military designs and political ambition. But an unexpected opportunity immediately plunged him into great undertakings.

*Frederick's
accession,
1740.*

A few months after Frederick's accession in October, 1740, the Emperor Charles VI., the last male of the line of Hapsburg, died. Long before his death, foreseeing the troubles of Austria, he had by a law, which received the name of the Pragmatic Sanction, appointed his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, his sole heir, and throughout his whole life he bestirred himself to extract from the European powers guarantees of this Pragmatic Sanction. These guarantees having been obtained from all the leading states, sometimes at a great sacrifice, he died with composed conscience, and the archduchess Maria Theresa prepared immediately to assume the rule of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and the other Hapsburg lands. It was at this point that

*The death
of Charles
VI., 1740.*

Frederick stepped in. His father had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, too, but Frederick did not choose to consider that circumstance. He thought only of the unparalleled opportunity of acquiring fame and position by pitting his father's large army, backed by a full treasury, against the weakened power of Austria. The fact that his House of Hohenzollern possessed some old claims to Silesia, a territory held by Austria, served as a pretext, and unfurling his banner, he marched in December, 1740, into the coveted province.

*Frederick
invades
Silesia.*

It might have gone hard with Maria Theresa if she had not found splendid resources of heart and mind in herself, and if she had not gained the undivided support of the many nationalities under her sway. Her enemies were descending upon her in two main directions, the French and their German allies from the west, by way of the Danube, and Frederick of Prussia from the north. Unprepared as she was, her raw levies gave way, at first, at every point. On April 10, 1741, at Mollwitz, Frederick won a great victory over the Austrians, clinching, by means of it, his hold upon Silesia. His victory was the signal for a general rising. Spain, France, Savoy, Bavaria, and Saxony, following his example, all dished up some kind of claim to parts of the Austrian dominions. They sent their armies against Maria Theresa, and their greed merely mocked at that poor princess's indignant remonstrances. Thus hardly was Charles VI. dead, when it was apparent that the Pragmatic Sanction was not worth the paper it was written on. In the same year the French, Saxons, and Bavarians invaded Bohemia.

*The War
of the Aus-
trian Suc-
cession.*

But at this point Maria Theresa's fortunes rose again, owing, in no small measure, to the enthusiasm with which she filled her soldiers. The army of the coalition was driven out of Bohemia; Bavaria was in turn invaded and occupied. The Prussians, who had likewise entered Bohemia, in order to help the French, were hard pressed, but saved themselves by a victory at Czaslau (May, 1742). Thereupon Maria Theresa, by the advice of the

*End of the
First Si-
lesian War,
1742.*

English ambassador, declared her willingness to come to terms with her most formidable foe. In 1742 she signed with Frederick the preliminaries of Breslau, by which she gave up practically the whole province of Silesia. What is known in Prussia as the First Silesian War had come to an end.

Maria Theresa now prosecuted the war against her other enemies with increased vigour. England and Holland, old friends of Austria, joined her, and the war assumed wider dimensions. During the next years the French consistently fell back; Maria Theresa conquered Bavaria, overran south Germany, and seemed on the point of becoming mistress of Germany.

Aware that in that case he could not hold his new conquest a year, Frederick was moved to strike a second blow. In 1744 he began the Second Silesian War, in which his calculations were completely successful. He first relieved the French and the Bavarians by drawing the Austrians upon himself, and then he defeated his enemy at the battles of Hohenfriedberg, Sohr, Gross Hennersdorf, and Kesselsdorf (1745). On Christmas day, 1745, Maria Theresa bought her peace of Frederick by a renewed cession of Silesia (Peace of Dresden).

For a few more years the general war continued. Finally, in 1748, everybody being tired of fighting, the combatants signed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), by which Maria Theresa was universally recognised as the sovereign of Austria. Already as early as 1745, her husband, Francis of Lorraine, had been

electèd emperor, thus confirming to Maria Theresa's family the honour which it had so long held. The war of the Austrian Succession had come to an end, and, against everybody's prediction, the empress's splendid qualities had maintained the Austrian dominions intact, with the exception of the sacrifice of Silesia, and some smaller losses in Italy.

When Frederick retired from the Second Silesian War, the position of Prussia had been revolutionized. The king had

received from his father a promising state, but it was of no great size, and it enjoyed no authority in Europe. *Prussia a* Frederick, by adding Silesia to it, gave it for the *great power.* first time a considerable area, but that acquisition alone would not have raised Prussia to the level of Austria, France, England, or Russia. It was the genius displayed by the young king, who stood at the head of Prussia, which fell so heavily into the balance, that Prussia was henceforth counted among the great powers of Europe.

Frederick, having thus won his military laurels, settled down to the much harder work of governing with wisdom and elevating his people materially and mentally. The *Frederick's* ten years of peace which followed the Second *peace* Silesian War were crowded with vigorous internal *labours.* labours; for example, he drained the great swamps along the Oder, promoted internal traffic by new canals, and established new iron, wool, and salt industries.

All Frederick's various labours never destroyed in him the light, humanistic vein which marks him from his birth. He engaged in literature with as much fervour as if *Frederick* it were his life-work, and took constant delight in *the philos-* composing music and in playing the flute. What *opher.* pleased him most, however, was a circle of spirited friends. He was especially well inclined to Frenchmen, because that nation represented, to his mind, the highest culture of the Europe of his day, and for several years (1750-53) he even entertained at his court the prince of the eighteenth-century philosophers, Voltaire. But after a period of sentimental *Voltaire.* attachment, the king and the philosopher quarrelled, and Voltaire vanished from Berlin in a cloud of scandal. In any case, the momentary injunction of the two brilliant spirits of the eighteenth century—the one its greatest master in the field of action, the other its greatest master of thought and expression—has an historical interest.

All this while Frederick was aware that Maria Theresa was not his friend and had not forgotten the deceit of which she had been made the victim. In fact she hoped to get back

Silesia, and for years carefully laid her plans. An important preparatory measure seemed both to her and to her minister Kaunitz, to be the alliance with France. In the eighteenth century an alliance between Hapsburg and Bourbon, the century-old enemies, seemed ridiculous. The rule in Austria had been the alliance with England, and any other arrangement seemed to be contrary to the law of nature itself. Kaunitz, however, accomplished the miracle of a diplomatic revolution, which during the next years turned Europe topsy-turvy. His plans were greatly aided by the following circumstance: England and France were making ready, in the middle of the century, to contest the empire of the sea. Both were looking for continental allies, and as Prussia, after holding back a long time, was induced at last to sign a convention with England, France was naturally pushed into the arms of Prussia's rival, Austria. In the spring of 1756 this diplomatic revolution was thus an accomplished fact. The two great political questions of the day, the rivalry between England and France on the one hand, and of Prussia and Austria on the other, were about to be fought out in the great Seven Years' War (1756-63), and the two northern and Protestant powers of England and Prussia were to consolidate therein their claims and interests against the claims and interests of the Roman Catholic powers, France and Austria.

Maria Theresa nurses plans of revenge.
The diplomatic revolution of 1756.
The Convention of Westminster, January, 1756.

The Treaty of Versailles, May, 1756.

But Maria Theresa was far from being dependent upon the French Alliance. She had signed alliances with Russia, Sweden, and Saxony, and therefore, when the war broke out, had good reason to hope that Frederick would be smothered by mere numbers.

Frederick's one chance in this tremendous crisis was to move quickly. Therefore before the allies were ready, he occupied Saxony, and invaded Bohemia (autumn 1756). The next year his enemies, whose number had meanwhile, at the instigation of Francis I., the

The Seven Years' War begins, 1756.

husband of Maria Theresa, been increased by the accession of the states of the empire, marched upon him from all points of the compass. Again he manœuvred to meet them separately before they had united. He hurried into Bohemia, and was on the point of taking the capital, Prague, when the defeat of a part of his army at Kolin (June 18, 1757), forced him to retreat to Saxony. Slowly the Austrians followed and poured into the coveted Silesia. The Russians had already arrived in East Prussia, the Swedes were in Pomerania, and the French, together with the Imperialists—as the troops of the Empire were called—were marching upon Berlin. The friends and family of Frederick were ready to declare that all was lost. He alone kept up heart, and by his courage and intelligence freed himself from all immediate danger by a succession of surprising victories. At Rossbach, in Thuringia, he fell, with 22,000 men, upon the combined French and Imperialists of twice that number, and scattered them to the winds (November 5, 1757). Then he turned like a flash from the west to the east.

*The famous
campaign of
1757.*

During his absence, in Thuringia, the Austrians had completed the conquest of Silesia, and were already proclaiming to the world that they had come again into their own. Just a month after Rossbach, at Leuthen, near Breslau, he signally defeated, with 34,000 men, more than twice as many Austrians, and drove them pell-mell over the passes of the Giant Mountains back into their own dominions. Fear and incapacity had already arrested the Swedes and Russians. Before the winter came, both had slipped away, and at Christmas, 1757, Frederick could call himself lord of an undiminished kingdom.

In no succeeding campaign was Frederick threatened by such overwhelming forces as in 1757. By the next year England had fitted out an army which, under Ferdinand of Brunswick, operated against the French upon the Rhine, and so protected Frederick from that side. As the Swedish attack degenerated at the same time into a mere farce, Frederick was allowed to neglect

*The situa-
tion is sim-
plified.*

his Scandinavian enemy, and give all his attention to Austria and Russia. No doubt even so, the odds against Prussia were enormous. Prussia was a poor barren country of barely 5,000,000 inhabitants, and in men and resources, Austria and Russia together outstripped her at least ten times; but at the head of Prussia stood a military genius, with a spirit that neither bent nor broke, and that fact sufficed for a while to establish an equilibrium.

It was Frederick's policy during the next years to meet the Austrians and Russians separately, in order to keep them from rolling down upon him with combined forces. In 1758, he succeeded in beating the Russians at Zorndorf and driving them back, but in 1759 they beat him in the disastrous battle of Kunersdorf. For a moment now it looked as if he were lost, but he somehow raised another army about him, and the end of the campaign found him not much worse off than the beginning. However, he was evidently getting weak; the terrible strain continued through years was beginning to tell; and when George III., the new English monarch, refused (1761) to pay the annual subsidy, by which Frederick had been enabled to keep his army on foot, the proud king himself could hardly keep up his hopes.

At this crisis Frederick was saved by the intervention of fortune. Frederick's implacable enemy, the czarina Elizabeth, died January 5, 1762. Her successor, Peter III., who was an ardent admirer of the Prussian king, not only straightway detached his troops from the Austrians, and signed a peace, but went so far as to propose a treaty of alliance with the late enemy of Russia. Peter III. was soon overthrown (July, 1762), but although his successor, Catharine II., cancelled the Prussian alliance, she allowed the peace to stand. This same year England and France came to an understanding (Preliminaries of Fontainebleau, 1762), and hostilities between them were at once suspended on all the seas. So there remained under arms only Austria and

Prussia, and as Austria could not hope to do unaided, what she had failed to do with half of Europe at her side, Maria Theresa, although with heavy heart, resolved to come to terms. In the peace of Hubertsburg (February, 1763), the cession of Silesia to Frederick was made final.

Peace with Austria, 1763.

Counting from the Peace of Hubertsburg Frederick had still twenty-three years before him. They were years devoted to the works of peace. And all his energy and administrative ability were required to bring his exhausted country back to vigour. We now hear again, as during the first period of peace (1745-56), of extensive reforms, of the formation of provincial banks, the draining of bogs, the cutting of canals, and the encouragement of industries; in a word, we hear of Frederick doing everything that an energetic ruler has ever been known to do.

The second period of peace, 1763-86.

Only one political event of the last period of Frederick's life claims our attention. In 1772 the troubles in Poland led to the First Partition of that unhappy country among Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Frederick received, as his share, the province of West Prussia, establishing, at last, by means of it the necessary continuity between his central and his eastern provinces.

The acquisition of West Prussia.

The great result of Frederick's reign was, that he created the dualism between Austria and Prussia, and that from his time forward the ancient Roman Catholic power, Austria, the traditional head of the German confederation, was engaged in fierce rivalry with upstart Protestant Prussia for the control of Germany. In fact the mutual jealousy of these two states is the central theme of German history for the next century, and it is only within the memory of living men (1866) that this chapter has been definitely closed by the final victory of Prussia and by the exclusion of Austria from Germany. In that famous settlement, introductory to the unification of Germany (1871), it is not difficult to perceive that Frederick had a hand.

The rivalry of Austria and Prussia.

CHAPTER XXIX

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

LITERATURE.—Gardiner, *Student's History of England*.

Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*.

Perkins, *France under Louis XV.*

Green, *History of the English People*.

Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*.

Mahan, *Influence of Sea-Power upon History*.

Traill, *William III.*

Hassall, *The Balance of Power*.

Ward, *Great Britain and Hanover*.

Bright, *History of England*.

Channing, *Student's History of the United States*.

Seeley, *The Expansion of England*.

Grant, *The French Monarchy*, 1483-1789.

Innes, *Britain and her Rivals*, 1713-1789.

Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada, and Half Century of Conflict, and Montcalm and Wolfe*.

Hunter, *A Brief History of the Indian People*.

Castonnet des Fosses, *L'Inde française avant Dupleix*.

Armstrong, *Elizabeth Farnese*.

Hawke, and Carr Laughton, *Admiral Hawke*.

Malleson, *History of the French in India*.

Story, *Building of the British Empire*.

Wilson, *Clive*.

Lyall, *Hastings*, and *The Rise of British Dominion in India*.

Doyle, *The English in America*.

Ludlow, *The War of American Independence*. See also Besant, *Captain Cook*; Thackeray, *Esmond* and *The Virginians*; Scott, *Waverley*.

THE "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 ended the period of the civil wars in England. It had established the Protestant sovereigns, William and Mary, upon the throne; it had, by the Bill of Rights, made the law supreme over the king; and it had paved the way to an understanding between the Established Church and the Dissenters by the Toleration Act.

For the first few years of his reign, William had to secure his throne by fighting. James II. had sought refuge with Louis XIV., and the decision of the French king to espouse the cause of James naturally threw England on the side of the allies, consisting of the emperor, the Dutch, and Spain, with whom Louis had just engaged in the war known as the War of the Palatinate (1688-97). This was the first time that England had reached out a hand to the powers of the Continent to help them against the continued aggressions of Louis XIV. Her national interests had long ago demanded that she should associate herself with the enemies of France, but it was one of the penalties she paid for putting up with Stuart rule, that she was not governed for her own, but for dynastic ends. It is the great merit of William to have amalgamated the interests of the nation and the interests of the monarchy, and to have given a direction to English affairs which was steadily maintained during the next century, and ended not only with checking the ambition of France on the Continent, but also in wresting from her her best colonies, and in winning the supremacy of the seas.

William introduces a new foreign policy.

Rivalry of France and England.

The War of the Palatinate has been dealt with elsewhere in connection with Louis XIV.; one chapter of it, however, the insurrection of Ireland, must be embodied in the history of William's reign. In March, 1689, James II. landed in Ireland, and the Irish, who were enthusiastic Roman Catholics, gathered around him. However, on July 1, 1690, William defeated James II. at the battle of the Boyne, whereupon James, who was a poor soldier, hurried back to France, shamefully abandoning to the English mercies the people who had risen in his behalf. The measures now taken by William and his successors against the Irish broke their resistance to English rule for a hundred years.

William conquers Ireland.

Battle of the Boyne, 1690.

It will be well before we speak of these measures, to review the relations of England and Ireland during the whole

seventeenth century. When James I. mounted the throne (1603), Ireland had been a dependency of the English crown for centuries, but never more than a nominal one. James, by breaking the power of the family of O'Neill, became real master there. The question now was how to secure the prize? After much deliberation, James resolved (1610) to confiscate the province of Ulster and settle it with English and Scottish colonists. The Irish were simply crowded out, with no more said than that they must seek subsistence elsewhere. The act of 1610 created an implacable hatred between oppressors and oppressed.

In consequence, the next century of Irish history is crowded with rebellions and horrors. In the year 1641, during the civil disturbances in England, the Irish fell upon the colonists and destroyed them. But England got her revenge in 1649. In that year Cromwell overthrew the rebels with terrible slaughter, and set the crown on his work of violence by confiscating, in addition to Ulster, the provinces of Leinster and Munster. The rebellious Irish were driven beyond the Shannon and forced to take refuge in the province of Connaught. But when William III. overthrew the next insurrection at the battle of the Boyne (1690), the policy of confiscation was applied to Connaught too. Therewith the Irish became a landless people in their own land, and were reduced to becoming tenants, day-labourers, and beggars.

It has already been said that William's great merit, as sovereign of England, was that he enabled her to follow her natural inclination and range herself with the enemies of Louis XIV. He gave all his life as English sovereign to creating a system of balance to the power of France. This system he discovered in the alliance of England, the emperor, and the Dutch, and it was this alliance which waged the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97), with the result that Louis XIV. drew off, at the Peace of Ryswick, without a gain. It was only in

the next war, the war of the Spanish Succession, that the allies soundly defeated Louis, but that war William, although he had prepared for it, did not live to see, as he died in 1702. His wife, Mary, having died some years before (1694), without issue, the crown now passed, by virtue of the Act of Settlement (1701), to Mary's sister, Anne. The Act of Settlement further provided, with regard to the succession, that, in case of Anne's death without heirs, the crown was to pass to the electress Sophia of Hanover and her descendants, the principle which determined the selection of Sophia being that she was the nearest Protestant heir.¹

William's reign is constitutionally very interesting. Although the Parliament, as we have seen, had won in the long struggle with the king, it was not inclined, for that reason, to rest upon its laurels. It now proceeded to reap gradually the harvest of its victory. From William's time on we have, therefore, to notice a continual enlargement of the sphere of the Parliament, accompanied by a proportionate restriction of the sphere of the king, until we arrive at the condition which obtains in this century, when the sovereign of England is hardly more than a sovereign in name.

A number of acts, passed under William, prepared this development. We notice only the more important of them. First to consider is the removal of all restrictions weighing on the freedom of the press (1695); henceforth there obtained in England that state of free opinion which is the necessary concomitant of free government. Secondly, we note that William's Parliaments fell into the habit of making their money-grants for one year only—which custom had the consequence of necessitating annual Parliaments, since the king's officers were not qualified to collect a revenue that had not first been regularly voted. From William's time on, therefore,

The Act of Settlement, 1701.

Growth of Parliament; decline of king.

Freedom of the press.

Annual vote of supplies.

¹ See genealogical chart No. x., 3.

the king's old trick of getting rid of Parliament by indefinite adjournment, had to be abandoned.

The event of the reign of Anne (1702-14), overshadowing all others, was the War of the Spanish Succession. It has been treated elsewhere. Although England won therein a leading position among the powers of Europe, Marlborough's march of victory from Blenheim to Malplaquet did not excite universal approval. The Tories, who were recruited largely from the gentry, had never looked upon the war with favour. As the taxes grew heavier and the national debt became more burdensome, an increasing part of the population rallied to the opposition. It was with the aid of the Whigs, who were paramount in the ministry, and of the Duchess of Marlborough, who controlled the easy-going, good-natured queen, that the duke was enabled to carry on his campaigns in the Netherlands and Germany. However, the duchess, being an arrogant lady and not always capable of holding her tongue, gradually fell out of favour, and in 1710 the queen, having become disgusted with the whole Whig connection, abruptly dismissed the Whigs from office. There followed a ministry of Tories, with a policy of peace at any price, and the result was that Marlborough was disgraced, and that England signed in 1713 the Peace of Utrecht, by virtue of which she acquired from France, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay territory; from Spain, Gibraltar and Minorca; but, best of all, she could now boast herself without a rival upon the sea.

An event of Anne's reign, which, although not much noticed, was hardly less important than the War of the Spanish Succession, was the union with Scotland. Since the accession of James I., Scotland and England had had the same sovereigns, but, for the rest, had, with the exception of the period of Cromwell's rule, remained jealously independent of each other under separate Parliaments and separate laws. In 1707 the century-old suspicion between the two nations was forgotten long enough for an

*Union with
Scotland,
1707.*

agreement to be arrived at, by which the two Parliaments were merged in one.

In the year 1714, Anne died, and the crown fell to the House of Hanover. The electress Sophia, who had been designated by the Act of Settlement as the eventual heir, having preceded Anne in death, her son, George I., now ascended the throne. Some great stroke on the part of the Pretender, the son of James II., was expected, but when it fell (1715), it turned out to be harmless. The man who claimed to be James III. had hardly landed when his courage failed him, and he turned back to France.

*Accession of
the House of
Hanover,
1714.*

George I. (1714-27), immediately dismissed from office the Tories, who were known to be favourable to the Stuarts, and chose his advisers from among the Whigs. He clung to the Whigs for the rest of his life, and so introduced that government of the Whig aristocracy, which is one of the leading features of the constitutional history of the eighteenth century.

*Rule of the
Whig aris-
tocracy.*

This prolonged power of a single party helped Parliament in taking another step toward acquiring complete control of the state; with George I. is associated the beginning of cabinet government. We have already seen that, as far back as Charles II. the Parliament was divided into Whigs and Tories. As things stood then, though the majority of the Commons were Tory, the king could continue to choose his ministry from the Whigs. Sooner or later it was bound to appear that such a division was harmful, and that to attain the best results the ministry would have to be in accord with the majority of the Commons. The reform meant a new loss of influence by the king, but under George I. the development was duly effected. Henceforth the ministry was still named by the king, but, as no set of men who had not first assured themselves that they were supported by a majority in the Commons, would accept the appointment, the Parliament practically dictated the king's cabinet. With the annual vote of supplies, and with cabinet

*Develop-
ment of cab-
inet govern-
ment.*

and party rule established as practices of the English Government, the constitution may be said to have reached the character which distinguishes it to-day.

George's reign was a reign of peace. It furnished just the opportunity which the Whigs wanted to develop the prosperity of the great middle class, upon which they depended against the combination of Tory squire and Tory clergyman. The leading man among the Whigs, and author of their policy, was Sir Robert Walpole. One may sum up his ideas by saying that he wished to settle England under the Hanoverian dynasty, and give free play to the commercial and industrial energy of his countrymen. The period which he directed is therefore well described as the era of common sense.

It was only when Walpole deliberately set himself against the people that he lost his hold. George I. had meanwhile been succeeded by George II. (1727-60). The new king like his father, was possessed of a certain honesty and solidity, and under the direction of Walpole, he continued the peace policy of George I., until a succession of events plunged Europe again into war. In the year 1738, a storm of indignation swept over the English people at the restrictions which Spain had for ages been putting upon English trade with the Spanish colonies. Walpole, against his will, was forced to declare war (1739). The next year the continental powers becoming involved among themselves, owing to the death of emperor Charles VI. (1740) and the dispute about his heritage, there followed the war known as the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-48). As Walpole was unsuited for an enterprise of this nature, and as, moreover, he stood personally for peace, his majority melted away, and, in 1742, he resigned. He had directed the destinies of England for twenty-one years (1721-42).

The war of the Austrian Succession was, as far as England is concerned, entirely inconclusive, and, when the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, left matters as they were. The one incident associated with the war which is now re-

membered in England, was the attempt of Charles Edward, son of the Pretender, and known as the Young Pretender, to win back his kingdom. In July, 1745, he landed with only seven men, in the Highlands of Scotland, and the Highlanders flocking to him in crowds, he was soon enabled to take Edinburgh, though not the Castle. For a moment now the government at London lost its head, and though the Pretender reached Derby it was soon found that the wild courage of feudal clans was of no avail against the discipline of a trained army. On Culloden Moor (April, 1746) the Highlanders were defeated with fearful slaughter by the king's second son, the duke of Cumberland. Prince Charlie, after many romantic adventures, made his escape; but he lived ever afterward in indolence abroad, and gave no further trouble (d. 1788). His failure marks the last Stuart attempt to recover the throne.

The invasion of the Young Pretender, 1745.

While England, under Walpole, was preparing to assume the industrial leadership of the world, France was doing little or nothing to recover from the disasters of the War of the Spanish Succession. When Louis XIV. died, in the year 1715, he was succeeded by his great-grandson Louis XV. (1715-74). As Louis XV. was but five years old at the time, the government during his minority was exercised in his name by the nephew of Louis XIV., Philip, duke of Orleans. The regent Orleans, although a man of intelligence, was utterly debauched, and succeeded only in plunging France into deeper misery. Nobody grieved when he died in 1723.

The Regency in France, 1715-23.

The great event of Louis XV.'s reign is, of course, the struggle with England for colonial empire in the Seven Years' War. Chronologically, however, that event is subsequent to two others which must be briefly recorded. From 1733 to 1735 France waged war with Austria, because of a difference over a Polish royal election—the war of the Polish Succession—and in this war France rapidly worsted Austria and won the duchy of Lorraine. This turned out to be the last gain that France

The War of the Polish Succession, 1733-35.

made from Germany under the old régime, and rounded off the long list of conquests that had been begun by the acquisition almost two centuries before of Metz, Toul, and Verdun by Henry II. (1552). The other war, the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) effected no territorial change in France, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle being concluded upon the basis of mutual restitutions.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the great question for France was: would she hold her own in the increasing maritime and colonial rivalry with England. These two powers, indisputably the greatest in the world, had begun to clash in America, India, and on all the seas, and, as the settlement of their conflicting claims by means of amicable negotiations was out of the question, it became plain that the disputants would have to resort to arms. We have already seen, in treating of Frederick the Great, how this rivalry got subtly bound up with the question of supremacy in Germany that had risen between Prussia and Austria, and we have also seen how the outbreak of the French-English struggle was preceded by a diplomatic revolution. This revolution came to a head in 1756, and leagued England and Prussia together against France and Austria. The Prussian-Austrian phase of this world-conflict, called the Seven Years' War (1756-63), has already been studied. We turn now to the French-English phase of it, and therewith to a struggle which is properly the most important contest of the century, for it determined whether America and India were to be French or English.

France made great sacrifices in the Seven Years' War to maintain her power. She sent an army over the Rhine to co-operate with the Austrians against the Prussians and the English, and she prepared to defend herself with might in America and on the sea. Unfortunately she was governed by an ignorant and vicious king, who was too feeble to persist in any policy, and who was

The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-48.

Rivalry between France and England.

The diplomatic revolution of 1756.

The Seven Years' War, 1756-63.

no better than the puppet of his courtiers and his mistresses. The real direction of French affairs during the war lay in the hands of Madame de Pompadour.

While government was thus being travestied in France, the power in England fell into the hands of the capable and fiery William Pitt, who is known in history as the Great *Pitt, captain* Commoner, and who now organized the strength *of England.* of England as no one had ever organized it before. Fleets and armies were equipped and dispatched in accordance with a simple and comprehensive plan to all parts of the world. Under these circumstances, victory necessarily fell to England. The French army in Germany was badly beaten *English* by Frederick the Great at Rossbach (1757), and *victories.* later held in effective check by the English and Hanoverian forces under Ferdinand of Brunswick. But the most signal advantages of the English were won, not in Europe, but on the sea and in the colonies. First, the French were driven from the basin of the Ohio (1758).¹ In the next year Wolfe's capture of Quebec secured the course of the St Lawrence, and therewith completed the conquest of Canada. Furthermore in India, the celebrated Lord Clive (victory of Plassey, 1757) crowded out the French and established the English influence, while the great maritime victories (1759) of Lagos and Quiberon confirmed England's ancient naval greatness.

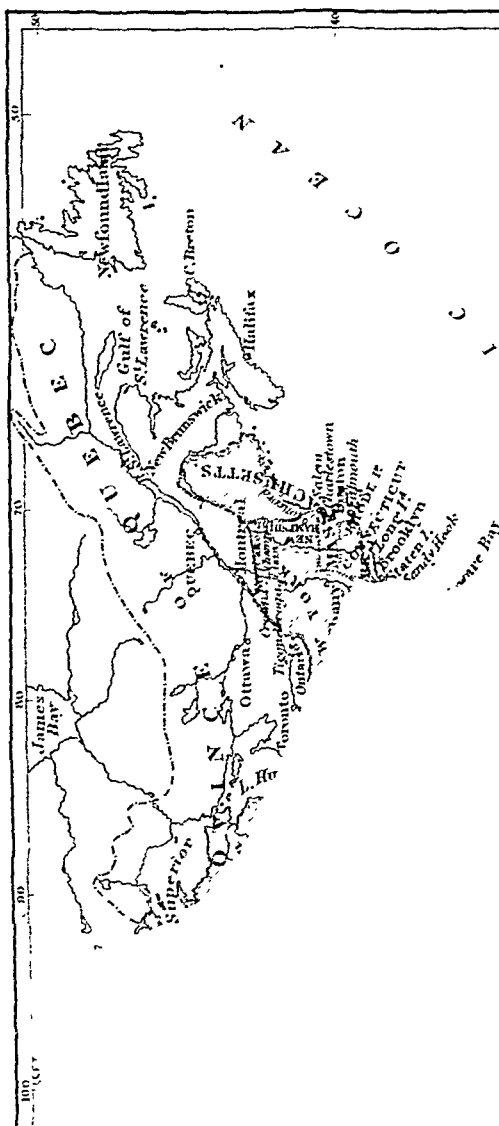
In the year 1760, while the war was at its height, George II. died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. (1760-1820). George III. had one leading idea, which *George III.,* was to regain for himself the place in the govern- *1760-1820.* ment which had been usurped by the Parliament. So completely was he absorbed by this policy, that the war had only a secondary interest for him. He therefore dismissed Pitt, who was identified with the war, from office (1761), and shortly

¹ The French had claimed the whole Mississippi basin, and in order to shut out the English had built a fort on the upper Ohio. In 1755 General Braddock was sent out to destroy the French fort, but refusing to be guided by the advice of the Virginian officer, George Washington, was badly beaten. When the French fort was finally taken, it was re-baptized Pittsburg, in honour of England's great minister.

after ordered Lord Bute, a minister of his own independent appointment, to conclude peace with France. Although the English negotiators, in their haste to have done, occasionally sacrificed the English interests, the great results of Pitt's victories could not be overturned. By the Peace of Paris (1763) England acquired from France, Canada and the territory east of the Mississippi River, and reduced the French in India to a few trading posts.

If the Seven Years' War is the greatest triumph of England in history, she was visited soon afterward with her severest disgrace. In the year 1765 the British Parliament levied a tax upon the American colonies, called the Stamp Act. When it became known that the tax aroused discontent, it was wisely withdrawn, but at the same time the principle was asserted and proclaimed that the British Parliament had the right to tax the colonies. As the Americans would not accept this point of view, friction grew apace and soon led to mob violence. Townshend imposed some unpopular taxes, the British ministry resorted to military force, and the answer of the Americans to this measure was the resolution to revolt (Declaration of Independence, 1776). In 1778 the colonists, through their agent, Benjamin Franklin, made an alliance with France, and from this time on the English were hard pressed by land and by sea. Finally, the surrender of Yorktown (1781) to the American hero of the war, George Washington, disposed the English to peace. In the peace of Versailles (1783) England made France a few unimportant colonial concessions, but the really memorable feature of the peace was the recognition of the independence of the American colonies.

This American success once more stirred the Irish to action. Ever since the severe confiscations of the time of William III. they had borne their ills in silence; they were crushed. But now they began an agitation for Legislative Independence or Home Rule, with the result that the ministry at London, intimidated by



ENGLISH POSSESSIONS

1781

NORTH AMERICA

Before 1781

Scale of English Miles

the mind.
 1781, though it was
 the attention of all

the American calamity, yielded the point (1782). The troubles in the island, however, did not cease; bloody encounters between the Roman Catholic natives and the Protestant colonists were common occurrences; and in 1800 the younger Pitt, who held the post of Prime Minister, resolved *The Act of* to make an end of these conditions, and passed an *Union, 1800.* *Act of Union* which destroyed the independence of Ireland for good and all, and incorporated the Irish Parliament with the British Parliament at London. Since then Ireland has been ruled in all respects from the English capital.

The Act of Union did not greatly occupy the public mind. For when it was passed the French Revolution, though it was now in its twelfth year, was still holding the attention of all Europe riveted upon it.

SECTION III

REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION; FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO OUR OWN TIME

(1789-1900)

Our third section begins with the French Revolution, which gave general currency to those essentially modern principles, the sovereignty of the people and national unity. As these principles were opposed to the principles of absolutism in vogue during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there arose a struggle, which, under the form of liberalism versus conservatism, has continued throughout the nineteenth century. The end, however, was the victory of liberalism, resulting in the very general establishment throughout Europe of constitutional or limited monarchies on a national basis.

CHAPTER XXX

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ERA OF NAPOLEON (1789-1815)

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Willert, *Mirabeau*.
Sorel, *L'Europe et la Revolution Française*.
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Wolseley, *The Decline and Fall of Napoleon*.
Napier, *History of the Peninsular War*.
Shand, *The War in the Peninsula*.
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IF the seventeenth century, which recalls the names of Richelieu, Colbert, and Louis XIV., was the period of the expansion of France, the eighteenth century, associated with

such names as the regent Orleans, Louis XV., and Madame de Pompadour, proved the period of French decay. We have just seen that the Seven Years' War all but completed the ruin of the kingdom, for the defeats of the armies of France in Germany destroyed her military prestige, and her maritime disasters overthrew her naval power and deprived her of her colonies. But the loss of her great position was not the worst consequence of the Seven Years' War. France found herself, on the conclusion of the Peace of Paris (1763), in such a condition of exhaustion, that it was doubtful, even to patriots, whether she would ever recover health and strength.

The case, at first sight, seemed anomalous. Here was a country which, in point of natural resources, had the advantage over every other country of Europe; its population, which was estimated at 25,000,000, was greater than that of any rival state; and the mass of the nation had no cause to fear comparison with any other people as regards industry, thrift, and intelligence. If this people so constituted tottered in the second half of the eighteenth century on the verge of disruption, that circumstance cannot be ascribed to any inherent defect in the nation. It was due solely to the break-down of the system of government and of society, which bound the nation together.

The reader is acquainted with the development of the absolute power of the French king—he had absorbed, gradually, all the functions of government. In fact, as Louis XIV. himself had announced, the king had become the state. Now it is plain that such extensive duties devolving on the king, only a very superior monarch was capable of holding and giving value to the royal office. Louis XIV. never failed at least in assiduity. But his successor, Louis XV., who was weak and frivolous, and incapable of sustained work, shirked the exercise of the powers which he none the less claimed as his due. The result was that the business

of governing fell to a greedy horde of courtiers and adventuresses, who were principally concerned with fattening their fortunes, and who sacrificed, with no more regret than is expressed by a shrug of the shoulders and a laugh, every interest of the state.

If under Louis XV. the centralized monarchy progressively declined, the whole social fabric which that monarchy crowned, exhibited no less certain signs of decay and disruption. French society, like that of all Europe, had its starting-point in the feudal principle of class. In feudal times there had been recognized two great ruling classes, the clergy and the nobility, which in return for the services they rendered as the provincial government, enjoyed exemption from taxation. In the eighteenth century the central government was performing those local services, but the clergy and nobility still enjoyed exemption. What for? Plainly the arrangement was iniquitous, for it divided France into privileged and unprivileged classes, or into subjects who paid and subjects who did not pay. But the social inequality did not end here, for the privileged classes had also a monopoly of the honours and emoluments. Not even a lieutenancy in the army, which the money of the commoners supported, was open to the son of a commoner, and neither the Church nor the government, except in rare instances, admitted into their high places the man of humble birth.

The membership of the two orders, to whom these extensive privileges were reserved, was not very large. The noble families numbered 25,000 to 30,000, with an aggregate membership of perhaps 140,000; and the clergy, including the various religious orders and the parish priests, had an enrolment of about as many names. These two castes between them owned about half the land of France, so that it could be fairly claimed by the indignant people that the principle of taxation which obtained in their country was: to relieve those who did not need relief, and to burden those who were already overburdened.

The feudal orders become privileged orders.

The numbers and the wealth of the privileged.

The commoners, or members of the Third Estate (*tiers état*), who were shut out from the places of authority reserved to the first two estates of the realm, were reduced to finding an outlet for their energy in the field of business enterprise or else in literature. They succeeded in piling up wealth both in Paris and in the cities of the provinces, until their resources, constantly increased through thrift and hard work, far exceeded those of the nobility, who concerned themselves only with elegantly spending what they had and what they could borrow. Thus the bourgeoisie had long been better off than the nobility; and now they proceeded to surpass the nobility in other respects. For increase of wealth had brought increase of leisure and of the desire and power to learn and grow. So it happened that in the progress of the eighteenth century, the Third Estate had fairly become the intellectual hearth of France.

But if the bourgeoisie was undoubtedly prospering, the case was different with the vast majority of French subjects, who are often called the Fourth Estate, and who embraced the two utterly wretched classes of the urban proletariat and the peasants. The proletariat

was composed of the artisans and day-labourers, and was, owing to the fact that the middle class controlled the commercial and industrial situation by means of close corpora-

tions called guilds, completely under the heel of its richer fellow-citizens. But still worse off than the working people were the peasants, for their obligations exceeded all justice and reason. The lord of the manor exacted rent from them; the Church levied tithes; and the king collected taxes almost at will. The result was that the peasants did not have enough left over from their toil to live on. And if these regular taxes did, by any chance, leave anything in their hands, that little was constantly jeopardized by certain remaining feudal obligations. Thus the lord of the land had the sole right to hunt, and the peasant was forbidden to erect fences to shut out the game from his fields. If the cavalcade from the château dashed over the young wheat in

spring, the peasant could do nothing but look on at the ruin of his year, hold his peace, and starve.¹

A government struck with impotence, a society divided into discordant classes—these are the main features of the picture we have just examined. French public life in the eighteenth century had become intolerable. Dis- solution of that life, in order that reform might follow, was patently the only possible escape out of the perennial misery. This the educated people began to see more and more clearly, and a school of writers, known as the philosophers, made themselves their mouthpiece.

The eighteenth century is the century of criticism. Men had begun to overhaul the whole body of tradition in state, Church, and society, and to examine their institutional inheritances from the point of view of common- sense. If things had been allowed to stand hitherto, because they were approved by the past, they were to be permitted henceforth only because they were serviceable, and necessary to the present. Reason, in other words, was to be the rule of life. This gospel the philosophers spread from end to end of Europe. They opened fire upon everything that ran counter to reason and science—upon the intolerance of the Church, upon the privileges of the nobility, upon the abuse of the royal power, upon the viciousness of criminal justice, and a hundred other things.

Although the revolt against the authority of tradition was universal in the eighteenth century, leading names among the philosophers are French- men, and of all the French phi- Vol- taire² and Rousseau³ carried on the most effective

The demand for reform.

The intellectual revolt.

The centre of the intellectual revolt is France.

¹ Other vexatious feudal dues were the *corvées* (compulsory mending of the roads), bridge-tolls, and the obligation to grind corn in the mill of the lord, and bake bread in his oven.

² Voltaire (1694-1778) excelled in the use of mockery. He made the contemporary world ridiculous to itself. Because his writings were so specifically addressed to his own time, they have not retained all their savour. Perhaps his most valuable production is "l'Essai sur les Mœurs."

³ Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) was a Genevan by birth. In his "Émile" (a work on education) and his "Contrat Social" (a work on

agitation. By means of their work and that of their followers, it was brought about that long before the Revolution of 1789, there had occurred a revolution in the realm of ideas, by which the hold of the existing Church, state, and society on the minds of men had been signally loosened. All that the material Revolution of 1789 did was to register this fact in the institutions and in the laws.

A society which has become thoroughly discredited in the minds of those who compose it, is likely to fall apart at any moment, and through a hundred different agencies. The agency which directly led up to the French Revolution, and gave the signal, as it were, for the dissolution of the ancient régime, was the state of the finances. The debts of Louis XIV. had been increased by the wars and extravagances of Louis XV., and by the middle of the eighteenth century France was confronted by the difficulty of a chronic deficit. As long as Louis XV. reigned (1715-74), the deficit was covered by fresh loans. Although the device was dangerous, it did not arouse any apprehension in that monarch's feeble mind. "Things will hold together till my death," he was in the habit of saying complacently, and Madame de Pompadour would add, nonchalantly: "After us the deluge."

When Louis XVI. (1774-92) succeeded his grandfather, the question of financial reform would not brook any further delay.

The new king was, at his accession, only twenty years old, and was honestly desirous of helping his people, but he had, unfortunately, neither the requisite energy nor the requisite intelligence for developing a programme, and carrying it through, in spite of opposition. His queen, Marie Antoinette, the daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria, was lovely and vivacious, but as young and inexperienced as himself.

The fifteen years from Louis's accession to the outbreak of

society), he preached the return from artificiality to nature. Voltaire and Rousseau differed in many important respects, but were both eloquent in their demand for civil and religious liberty.

the Revolution (1774-89), constitute a period of unintermitted struggle with the financial distress. The problem was how to make the revenues meet the ex-*Attempts at financial reform.* penditures, and plainly the only feasible solution was reform: the lavish expenditure of the court would have to be cut down and the privileged orders would have to give up their exemptions. For the consideration of these matters Louis at first called into his cabinet a number of notable men. Among his ministers of finance were the economist Turgot (1774-76), and the banker Necker (first ministry, 1778-81; second ministry 1788-90). But although these men laboured earnestly at reform, they could make no headway owing to the opposition of the nobles, and the ruinous expenditure caused by the aid given by France to the Americans. Toward the end of the eighties the king stared bankruptcy in the face. Since he was absolutely without further resource, he now resolved to appeal to the nation. The determination was in itself a revolution, for it contained the admission *Appeal to the nation (1789).* that the absolute monarchy had failed. In May, 1789, there assembled at Paris, in order to take council with the king about the national distress, the States-General of the realm.

The States-General were the old feudal Parliament of France, composed of the elected representatives of the three orders, the clergy, the nobles, and the commons. *The States-General formerly controlled by the feudal orders.* As the States-General had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years, it was not strange that nobody was acquainted with their mode of procedure. So much was certain, however, that the assembly had formerly voted by orders, and that the action of the privileged orders had always been decisive.

The first question which arose in the assembly was whether the nobles and clergy should be allowed this traditional supremacy in the new States-General. Among the members of the Third Estate, as the commons were called in France, there was, of course, only one answer. These men held that the new States-General were representative, not of the old

feudal realm, but of the united nation, and that every-body, therefore, must have an equal vote. In other words, the Third Estate maintained that the vote should not be taken by order, but individually. As the Third Estate had been permitted to send twice as many delegates (six hundred) as either clergy or nobility (three hundred each), it was plain that the proposition of the Third Estate would give that body the preponderance. The clergy and nobility, therefore, offered a stubborn resistance; but, after a month of contention, the Third Estate cut the knot by boldly declaring itself, with or without the feudal orders, the National Assembly (June 17). Horrified by this act of violence the king and the court tried to cow the commons by an abrupt summons to submit to the old procedure, but when the commons refused to be frightened, the king himself gave way, and ordered the clergy and nobility to join the Third Estate (June 27). Thus, at the very beginning of the Revolution, the power passed out of the hands of the king and feudal orders into the hands of the people.

The National Assembly (1789-91)

The National Assembly, which was thus constituted to regenerate France, was composed of very intelligent men who were animated by a pure enthusiasm to serve their country. But a fatal defect more than counter-balanced this generous disposition. The Assembly was composed of theorists, of men who were inexperienced in the practical affairs of government, and was, therefore, calamitously prone to treat all questions which arose as felicitous occasions for the display of parliamentary eloquence.

Out of this immense body of 1200 legislators there gradually came to the front a number of men of whom Lafayette,

Robespierre, and Mirabeau are the most important. The marquis de Lafayette had won a great name for himself in the American Revolution, and though a noble, sympathized with the people. Robespierre, a lawyer by profession, was vain and narrow-minded, but fanatically attached to the principles of democracy. Head and shoulders above these two, and above all his colleagues, rose the count de Mirabeau, for he was a born statesman, perhaps the only man in the whole Assembly who instinctively knew that a government was as natural and gradual a growth as a plant or a child. He wished, therefore, to keep the inherited monarchy intact, with just such reforms as would restore it to health and vigour, but unfortunately, he never succeeded in acquiring a guiding influence. In the first place, he was a noble, and therefore subject to suspicion; then his early life had been a succession of scandals, which now rose up and bore witness against him, undermining confidence in his honour.

*Lafayette.**Robespierre.**Mirabeau.*

The primary business of the National Assembly was the making of a new constitution. It was of the highest importance that this work should be done in perfect security, free from the interference of popular passion and violence. As the National Assembly represented the propertied interests, there seemed to be every chance of calm and systematic procedure; but unfortunately the Assembly soon fell under the domination of the mob, and that proved the ruin of the Revolution. The growth of the influence of the lower elements, who interpreted reform as anarchy, is the most appalling concomitant of the great events of 1789. If we understand this fact, we have the key to the awful degeneration of what certainly was, at its outset, a generous movement.

Degeneration of the Revolution due to the mob.

For this degeneration the king and the National Assembly are both responsible, for, instead of working together in harmony, they tried to injure each other as much as they could. In consequence the people were kept agitated with rumours of court plots, and were

The insurrections of Paris.

ever ready to rise in insurrection against the monarch whom the orators designated as "the tyrant." Thus, on *The storm-
ing of the
Bastille,
July 14,
1789.* July 14, the populace of Paris threw itself in a rage upon the Bastille, an ancient state prison in the heart of Paris, and after a bloody encounter with the royal troops, razed it to the ground.

The king at Versailles did not misread the lesson which the episode of the Bastille pointed. If he had had any thought of employing arms against the Revolution, he now abandoned it, and tried to make his peace with the people. And the citizen class, too, adopted temporarily, at least, a more conciliatory attitude. Resolved to have *Formation
of the
National
Guard.* done with violence, they organized for the maintenance of order a militia, called the National Guard, and made the popular Lafayette commander.

The question now was whether the national guard understood its duty, and was strong enough to repress the lawless elements which were constantly growing more bold and more numerous.

The test came soon enough. In October the rumour of another court plot tremendously excited the people. It was said that "the tyrant" was once again scheming to put down the Revolution with troops; and it was further said that he and none other had caused the dreadful famine in the city by buying up all the *The insur-
rection of
October 5
and 6.*

grain in the land. On the morning of October 5th, 10,000 women, fierce and haggard from long suffering, set out for Versailles to fetch the king to Paris. The transfer, they were brought to believe, would somehow inaugurate a reign of plenty. Naturally enough as they straggled along, all the male and female riffraff of the city joined them. But where were the authorities? Where was Lafayette, the commander of the National Guard? His duty in the face of this popular uprising was plain, but certain it is that he did nothing to break up the rioters, probably because he himself sympathized with their aim to bring the king to Paris. Only long *after* the insurgents he set out for Versailles, where, on his arrival, he found everything in the greatest confusion, but where, by

his timely intercession, he saved the lives of the royal family. However, if the mob spared the king and queen, it declared firmly, at the same time, that it would be satisfied with nothing short of the removal of the king and the royal family to the capital. What could the king do but give his consent? On the 6th, the terrible mænads, indulging in triumphant song and dance along the road, escorted the royal family to the Tuileries at Paris. The National Assembly, of course, followed the king, and was quartered in the riding-school, near the palace.

*The king
conducted
to the
Tuileries.*

The events of October 5 and 6, in literal truth, ruined the monarchy, and Lafayette cannot escape the charge of having contributed in large measure to the result. The king at the Tuileries, indeed, if that was what Lafayette wanted, was now practically Lafayette's prisoner, but Lafayette himself, even though it took him some months to find it out, was henceforth the prisoner of the mob.

*The mob
henceforth
supreme.*

What greatly contributed to the power of the mob was the excitement and vague enthusiasm which possessed all classes alike. We must always remember, in order to understand the tremendous pace at which the Revolution developed, that the year 1789 marks an almost unparalleled agitation of public opinion. Leading symptoms of this agitation were the innumerable pamphlets and newspapers which accompanied the events of the day with explanatory comment, but a still more striking witness of the exaltation of men's minds was offered by the clubs. Clubs for consultation and debate became the great demand of the hour; they arose spontaneously in all quarters; in fact, every coffee-house acquired, through the passion of its frequenters, the character of a political association. Of all these unions the Jacobins soon won the most influential position. Beginning moderately enough, they offered a meeting-point for the constitutional and educated elements, and rapidly spread in numberless branches or so-called daughter-societies over the length and breadth of France. Unfortunately, however, this club, too, soon fell under the domination of the extreme revolutionary

The clubs.

The Jacobins.

tendencies. Lafayette and Mirabeau, whose power was at first dominant, were gradually displaced by Robespierre ; and Robespierre, once in authority, skilfully used the club as a means of binding together the radical opinion of the country.

Throughout the years 1789 and 1790, the National Assembly was engaged with providing for the government of France, and in making a constitution. The great question of the privileges, which had proved unsolvable in the early years of Louis XVI., caused no difficulties after the National Assembly had once been constituted. On August 4, 1789, the nobility and clergy, in an access of magnanimity, renounced voluntarily their feudal rights, and demanded that they should be admitted into the great body of French citizens on a basis of equality. August 4 is one of the great days of the Revolution.

In the intervals of the discharge of the current business, the Assembly deliberated concerning the future constitution of France. Of course it is not possible to examine it here in any degree of detail, but if we remember that it was the work of men who had suffered from an absolute executive, we shall understand its

principal feature, which was that the legislative branch of the government was made superior to the executive branch. The legislative functions were entrusted to a legislature of one house elected for two years. Mirabeau, the great statesman of the Revolution, fought hard to preserve for the king that measure of power which an executive requires in order to be efficient ; but he was unappreciated by his colleagues, and in almost all important matters met defeat. Broken down by disappointment and reckless excesses he died (April, 1791), prophesying in his last days, with marvellous accuracy, all the ulterior stages of the Revolution.

The death of Mirabeau, the supporter of monarchy, greatly weakened the king's position. Ever since October 6, Louis had been the virtual prisoner of the populace, and ever since that time he was being systematically deprived of his authority by the National

The abolition of privileges, August 4.

The character of the new constitution.

The death of Mirabeau, April, 1791.

The uncomfortable position of the king.

Assembly. The constitution, which in the spring of 1791 was nearing completion, he regarded as impracticable, and since the death of Mirabeau destroyed the hope of an effective revision, it is not strange that he should have meditated flight.

The flight of the king and the royal family was arranged with the greatest secrecy for the night of June 20. A little less delay at the post stations, or a little more care on the part of the king to keep himself in concealment, would have crowned the venture with success. But the king was recognized at Sainte Menehould, and a little farther on at Varennes, where the change of horses was accidentally prolonged, the travellers found themselves hemmed in by the mob, and arrested. A few days after their departure the fugitives were brought back to Paris as prisoners.

The attempted flight, June 20, 1791.

The flight of the king divided opinion in Paris sharply. To the constitutional monarchists it gave their first inkling that they had gone too far, for a monarch was necessary to their constitutional fabric, and here they beheld their chosen monarch refusing to serve their plan. They began in consequence to exhibit suddenly for the captive and disarmed Louis a consideration which they had never accorded him in the days when he still had favours to dispense. The democrats, on the other hand, such as Danton and Robespierre, regarded the flight as a welcome pretext for proclaiming the republic. A struggle followed (July 17, 1791), the most ominous which Paris had yet witnessed; but the monarchists were still a majority, and by ordering out the National Guard against the rioters, won a victory. The Assembly, on hearing from the king that he had never meant to leave the soil of France, solemnly welcomed him back to office; and Louis, in return, to mark his reconciliation with his subjects, accepted and swore to observe the constitution. On September 30, 1791, the last artistic touches having been added to the constitution, the

Division of opinion.

The king reinstated.

The Assembly dissolves itself, 1791.

assembly dissolved itself, and retired from the scene. Its strenuous labours of two years, from which the enthusiasts had expected the renovation of old Europe, culminated in the gift to the nation of the completed liberal constitution. The question now was: would the vaunted constitution at length inaugurate the prophesied era of peace and happiness?

The Legislative Assembly (October 1, 1791, to September 21, 1792).

The answer to the above question would depend largely upon the First Legislative Assembly, which, elected on the basis of the new constitution, met the day after the National Assembly adjourned. By a self-denying ordinance, characteristic of the mistaken magnanimity which pervaded the National Assembly, that body had voted the exclusion of its members from the Legislative Assembly. The seven hundred and forty-five new legislators of France were, therefore, all men without experience. That alone constituted a grave danger, which was still further increased by the fact that the prevailing type of member was that of the young enthusiast, who owed his political elevation to the oratorical vigour he had displayed in his local Jacobin Club.

Inexperience of the new legislature.

The dangerous disposition of the Assembly became apparent as soon as the members grouped themselves in parties. Only a small fraction, called the Feuillants, undertook to support the constitution. The two most influential parties, the Gironde¹ and the Mountain,² favoured the establishment of a republic, and, from the first day, set deliberately about destroying the monarchy. The stages by which they accomplished their work of ruin we need not

Republicanism of the assembly.

¹ So called from the fact that the leaders of the party hailed from the department of the Gironde (Bordeaux).

² This party owes its name to the circumstance that its members took their seats in the Assembly upon the highest tiers of benches.

here consider, but the supreme blow against the king was delivered when he was forced to declare war against Austria, and except for this declaration, which marks a new milestone in the Revolution, we can almost forget the Legislative Assembly entirely.

The declaration of war against Austria was the result of a variety of circumstances. In the first place, monarchical Europe, the natural head of which was the emperor Leopold, the brother of Marie Antoinette, had begun to exhibit hostility to the Revolution, and the Declaration of Pilnitz by Austria-Prussia in the autumn of 1791 had irritated the French; then the French nobility which had migrated and lived chiefly along the Rhine, where it was organized under the leadership of the count of Artois, brother of Louis XVI., exasperated the French by its threats of revenge; finally, the Gironde desired war in the expectation that war would overthrow the monarchy. Though Robespierre and the leading Jacobins opposed war, the interaction of these various motives and circumstances led the Assembly in an access of passion to compel Louis XVI. to declare war against Austria (April 20, 1792).

Unfortunately, the capable Leopold had died a month before the declaration was made, and it was his incapable son, Francis II. (1792-1835), who was called to do battle with the Revolution. But Leopold had before his death made some provision against the eventuality of war with France. In February, 1792, frightened by the dangers to the cause of monarchy lurking in the Revolution, he had persuaded Frederick William II. of Prussia to ally himself with him. The declaration of April 20 brought, therefore, not only Austria, but also Prussia, into the field. Thus began the revolutionary wars which were destined to carry the revolutionary ideas to the ends of the earth, to sweep away landmarks and traditions, and to lock old Europe in a death-grapple with new France, for over twenty years.

*War
against
Austria,
April 20,
1792.*

*The war
destined to
become
general.*

There can be no doubt that the republican

were the real originators of the war, expected an easy victory.

French defeats. They saw, in a vision, the thrones of the tyrants shaking at the irresistible onset of the revolutionary ideas, and themselves hailed everywhere as the liberators of the human race. But the first engagement brought a sharp disappointment. The undisciplined French forces, at the mere approach of the Austrians, scampered away without risking a battle, and when the summer came it was known that the Austrians and Prussians together had begun the invasion of France. At this unexpected crisis wrath and terror filled the republicans in Paris. They began to whisper the word treason, and soon their orators dared to denounce the king publicly, and in the vilest language, as the author of the French defeats. Every day brought the Prussian van nearer Paris; every day added to the excitement of the frightened citizens. When the duke of Brunswick, the Prussian commander-in-chief, threatened, in a senseless proclamation, to wreak vengeance on the capital, if but a hair of the king's head were injured, the seething passion burst in a wave of uncontrollable fury. In the early morning of August 10, the mob, which on June 20 had failed to carry out an insurrection, organized by the republican leaders, marched against the Tuileries to overthrow the man whom the orators had represented as in league with foreign despots against the common mother, France.

With his regiment of Swiss mercenaries, who alone could be depended upon, Louis might have made a brave resistance. But he was not the man to be moved by a heroic impulse. If there had ever been one settled determination in his breast, it was that no French blood should flow for him in civil war.

August 10, 1792. At eight o'clock in the morning, seeing that the mob was making ready to storm the palace, he abandoned it to seek shelter in the Legislative Assembly. The Swiss guard, deserted by their leader, made a brave stand, and only on the king's express order gave up the Tuileries, and attempted to effect a retreat. But the odds were against them, and most of them were butchered in the streets.

Meanwhile the Assembly was engaged in putting its official seal to the verdict of the mob. With Louis himself present, the members voted the suspension of the king, and ordered the election of a National Convention to consider the basis of a new constitution. The present Assembly was to hold over till September 21, the day when the new body was ordered to meet. Thus perished, not only the monarchy but also, after an existence of ten months, the constitution which had been trumpeted forth as the final product of the human intellect.

*Break-down
of the mon-
archy and
the constitu-
tion.*

The suspension of the king left the government legally in the hands of the Legislative Assembly and of the ministry which the Assembly appointed. But as the capital was in the hands of the mob and the machinery of government paralyzed, it was found impossible to keep the real power from falling into the hands of the demagogues, who, on August 10, had had the courage to strike down the king. These victorious demagogues were identical with the Mountain party in the Assembly, and with the "patriots," who had just possessed themselves, by means of violence, of the city council or commune. The most prominent figures of this dread circle were Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, and these and their henchmen were the real sovereigns of France during the interlude from August 10, the day of the overthrow of the monarchy, to September 21, the day of the meeting of the National Convention.

*The govern-
ment in the
hands of the
demagogues.*

It was plain that the first need of France in this crisis was to beat back the invasion. The Prussians were already advancing, and the Mountain, therefore, made itself the champion of the national defence. The fatherland was declared in danger; all occupations ceased but those which provided for the necessities of life and furnished weapons of defence; finally, the whole male population was invited to enlist. The famous September massacres terrorized Paris, and indeed France; and whatever we may think of this system of government by violence and frenzied enthusiasm, it certainly accomplished its end - it put

*The Moun-
tain defends
France.*

an army into the field composed of men who were ready to die, and so saved France.

Slowly the republican recruits checked the Prussian advance. Finally, on September 20, General Kellermann inflicted a *Prussians defeated at Valmy, September, 1792.* defeat upon the Prussians at Valmy, whereupon king Frederick William, whose thoughts were already directed towards Poland which was on the eve of the further partition, gave the order to retreat. A few weeks later not a Prussian was left upon French soil.

This really great achievement of the radical democrats had been unfortunately preluded by a succession of frightful *The September massacres, September 2, 3, and 4.* crimes. To understand why these were perpetrated, we must once again picture to ourselves the state of France. The country was in anarchy; the power in the hands of a few men, resolute to save their country. They were a thoroughly unscrupulous band, the Dantons, the Marats, and their colleagues, and since they could not afford to be disturbed in their work of equipping armies by local risings among the supporters of the king, they resolved to cow the constitutionalists, still perhaps a majority, by a system of terror. They haled to the prisons all to whom the suspicion of being devoted to the king attached, and in the early days of September they emptied the crowded prisons again by a deliberate massacre of the inmates. An armed band of assassins, regularly hired by the municipality, made the round of the prisons, and in the course of three days dispatched about two thousand helpless victims. Not a hand was raised to stop the hideous proceedings. Paris, to all appearances, looked on, stupefied.

The National Convention (September 21, 1792, to October 26, 1795).

This short interlude of government by terror came to an end temporarily when the National Convention met (September 21)

and assumed control. The first act of this body was to declare the monarchy abolished. As the defeat of the Prussians at Valmy, which occurred about this time, was followed soon after by the repulse of the Austrians from the walls of Lille, France was freed from all immediate danger from without. The French armies then invaded Saxony, advanced to the Rhine, and in November, by the battle of Jemappes, conquered the Austrian Netherlands. France being thus secure from attack the Convention could turn its attention to internal affairs.

In the precarious condition in which France then found herself, everything depended upon the composition of the new governing body. It was made up of almost eight hundred members, all republicans; but they were republicans of various degrees of thoroughness. There were the two parties of the Gironde and the Mountain, known to us from the Legislative Assembly; and between them, voting sometimes with the Gironde, sometimes with the Mountain, but definitely attached to neither, was the Plain. The Girondists dreamed of a new Utopia, which was to be straightway realized by legislation; they wished to end the period of murders, and thus wipe away the stains which were beginning to attach to the name of liberty. The Mountain were men of a more fierce and practical mood; they thought primarily of saving France from the foreigners, and were willing to sacrifice liberty itself to further that great end.

That the chasm between the Gironde and Mountain was absolutely unbridgeable was exhibited on the Convention's taking up the trial of the king, who, ever since August 10, had been confined with his family in the prison of the Temple. In December the deposed monarch was summoned before the bar of the Convention. The Girondists were anxious to appeal to the people; but the Mountain, backed by the threats of the mob, carried the Convention with them, and the citizen Louis Capet, once Louis XVI., was condemned to death. On January 21, 1793, he was executed by the guillotine.

France becomes a republic.

The Gironde and the Mountain.

Trial and death of the king, January 21, 1793.

The execution of the king raised a storm of indignation over Europe, and France was threatened by a great coalition. The challenge was accepted; and in February 1793 France declared war on England and Holland, and in March on Spain. On March 23, the Holy Roman Empire itself declared war against France. Thus the war with Austria and Prussia developed into one with Europe, and under these circumstances, the question of the defence of French soil became again, as it had been in the summer of 1792, the supreme question of the hour. On March 21, the French troops were routed at Neerwinden, and the effect on the Convention was striking. It was plain that, in order to meet her enemies, who were advancing from every point of the compass, France would be required to display an almost superhuman vigour.

The first Committee of Public Safety, consisting of nine members, was at once formed, and the new crisis quickly developed the animosities between Gironde and Mountain into implacable hatred. There can be no doubt that both sides were equally patriotic, but it was not now primarily a question of patriotism between them, but of the most practical means for meeting the threatening invasions. The philosophers of the Gironde insisted on presenting moral scruples, on spinning out endless debates; because the case would not wait upon scruple or debate, the fanatics of the Mountain resolved to strike their rivals down. Mobs were regularly organized by Marat to invade the Convention, and howl at its bar for the heads of the Girondist leaders. Finally, on June 2, 1793, thirty-one of them, among whom were the brilliant orators Vergniaud, Brissot, and Gensonné, were declared under arrest.

The fall of the moderate Girondists meant the removal of the last check upon the ferocity of the Mountain. The government now lay in its hands to use as it would, and the most immediate end of government, the Mountain had always maintained, was the salvation of France from her enemies. To accomplish that great

*The first
coalition
against
France,
1793.*

*Overthrow
of the
Gironde.*

*The Moun-
tain su-
preme.*

purpose, the Mountain now deliberately returned to the successful system of the summer of 1792—the system of terror. The phase of the Revolution, which is historically famous as the Reign of Terror (*La Terreur*)—it may profitably be called the Long Reign of Terror in order to distinguish it from the Short Reign of Terror of August and September, 1792—begins on June 2, with the expulsion from the Convention of the moderate element, represented by the Gironde.

The Reign of Terror (June 2, 1793, to July 27, 1794).

The Short Reign of Terror of the summer of 1792 was marked by two conspicuous features: first, an energetic defence of the French soil, and, secondly, a bloody repression of the opposition elements in Paris. The Long Reign of Terror reproduces these elements developed into a system. What is more likely to secure an energetic defence than a strong executive? The Mountain, therefore, created a new Committee of Public Safety, consisting of twelve members, to whom it intrusted an almost unlimited executive power. As the most conspicuous, though certainly not the most capable figure of this committee was Robespierre, the rule of the Committee of Public Safety is generally identified in people's minds with his name.

*The Great
Committee
of Public
Safety.*

Robespierre.

The executive having been thus provided for, it remained to systematize the repression of the anti-revolutionary elements. The machinery of the Terror, as this systematization may be called, presented, on its completion, the following constituents: First, there was the Law of the Suspects. By this unique measure the authorities were authorized to imprison any and everybody who was denounced to them as "suspect." The iniquitous Law of the Suspects soon taxed the prisons to the utmost. To empty them was the function of the second element of the terrorist

*The machin-
ery of the
Terror.*

machinery, called the Revolutionary Tribunal. This was a special court of justice, created for the purpose of trying the suspects with security and dispatch. At first the Revolutionary Tribunal adhered to certain legal forms, but gradually it sacrificed every consideration to the demand of speed. The time came when prisoners were haled before this court in companies, and condemned to death with no more ceremony than the reading of their names. There then remained for the luckless victims the third and last step in the process of the Terror; they were carted to an open square, called the Square of the Revolution, and amidst staring and hooting mobs, who congregated to the spectacle every day, as to a feast, their heads fell under the stroke of the guillotine.

Before the Terror had well begun, one of its prime instigators, Marat, was overtaken by a merited fate. Marat, was *Marat and Charlotte Corday.* the mouth-piece of the utterly ragged and abject element of Paris. His savage thirst for blood had aroused the aversion of all decent people, and finally awakened in the breast of a beautiful and noble-minded girl of Normandy, Charlotte Corday, the passionate desire to rid her country of this monster. On July 13, 1793, she succeeded in forcing an entrance into his house, and stabbed him in his bath. She knew that the act meant her own death; but her exaltation did not desert her for a moment, and she passed to the guillotine a few days after the deed with the sustained calm of a martyr.

The dramatic incidents associated with so many illustrious victims of the Terror can receive only scant justice here. In *Death of Marie Antoinette, October, 1793.* October, Marie Antoinette was summoned before the Revolutionary Tribunal. A number of untenable charges were brought up against her by the prosecuting attorney. She behaved with noble dignity, and on receiving her death-verdict, mounted the scaffold with all the courage befitting a daughter of the Cæsars.¹

¹ Marie Antoinette left two children, a princess of fifteen years, and the dauphin, Louis, aged eight. The princess was released in 1795, but before that mercy could be extended to the boy, he had died under the inhuman

Another victim was the duke of Orleans, perhaps the most despicable character of the Revolution. He was *The duke of Orleans*, head of the secondary branch of the House of Bourbon, but he had deserted the cause of monarchy and had sunk so low as even to vote for the death of his relative, the king. A person of a very different type was *Madame Roland*, Madame Roland, who was animated with the vague and generous republic enthusiasm which we know to have been the characteristic possession of the Girondists. To this party she had been naturally drawn, and she was compelled to mount the scaffold.

But the rule of the Terror was, perforce, exceptional. Sooner or later there was bound to occur a division among its supporters, and when division came the terrorists were sure to rage against each other, as they had once raged in common against the aristocrats. *Disruption of the Terror inevitable.* And in the autumn of 1793, unmistakable signs of the disintegration of the party of the Terror began to appear. The most radical wing, which owed its strength to its hold on the government of the city of Paris, and followed the lead of one Hébert, had turned its particular animosity against the Roman Catholic faith. To replace this ancient cult, despised as aristocratic, there was proclaimed the religion of Reason; and, finally, in order to hurry the victory of this novel faith, the Hébertists in the municipality decreed the closure of all places of worship in Paris. As this ultra-revolutionary step was sure to alienate the affections of the sincere believers, who were still very numerous, *End of the Hébertists, March, 1794.* and as Hébert opposed the despotism of the new government, Robespierre took the earliest opportunity to denounce him and his followers before the Jacobins. Finally, in March, 1794, the Committee of Public Safety ordered the whole atheistic band to the guillotine.

The overthrow of Hébert was followed by that of Danton

treatment of his jailers. The systematic torturing to death of the poor dauphin, who is reckoned as Louis XVII., is one of the most hideous blots upon the Revolution.

and his friends, although for an altogether different reason. No man had done more than Danton to establish the reign of the Mountain. A titanic nature, with a claim to real statesmanship, he had exercised a decisive influence in more than one great crisis; France had primarily him to thank for her rescue from the Prussians in the summer of 1792, and for the formation of a strong government. But now he thought the reign of Terror to be carried too far. The uninterrupted flow of blood disgusted him, and he raised his voice in behalf of mercy. Mercy, to Robespierre and his young follower, the arch-fanatic, Saint Just, was nothing less than treason, and in sudden alarm at Danton's "moderation," they hurried him and his friends to the guillotine (April 5, 1794). Thus Robespierre was rid of his last rival. No wonder that it was now whispered abroad that he was designing to make himself dictator.

And between Robespierre and a dictatorship there stood, in the spring of 1794, only one thing—his own political incapacity. That he had the Jacobins, the municipality of Paris, the Convention, and the Committee of Public Safety in his hands was proved by their servile obedience to his slightest nod. On May 7th he, the deist, who borrowed his faith as he borrowed his politics, from the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, had the satisfaction of wresting from the Convention a supreme decree. Thereby the religion of Reason, advocated by the atheists, was overthrown, and the Convention declared that the French people recognized a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; and on June 8, 1794, the ludicrous religion of the Supreme Being was inaugurated by a splendid festival, at which Robespierre himself officiated as high priest. Two days later, he showed in what spirit he interpreted his new spiritual function, for he succeeded, by regular decree, in having the Revolutionary Tribunal stripped of its last vestiges of legal form (June 10). Now only it was that the executions in Paris began in a really wholesale manner. During the forty-five days

before the reorganization of the Tribunal, the numbers of those guillotined in Paris amounted to 577; during the forty-five days after its adoption, the victims reached the frightful figure of 1,356. No government office, no service rendered on the battlefield secured immunity from arrest and death. At last, the Terror gathered like a cloud over the Convention itself, and, paralyzed by fear, that body submitted for a time to the unnatural situation. But when the uncertainty connected with living perpetually under a threat of death had become intolerable, the opponents of Robespierre banded together in order to crush him. With his immense following among the people he could doubtless have anticipated his enemies, but instead of acting, he preferred to harangue and denounce. On the 9th of Thermidor (July 27),¹ he and his adherents were outlawed by the Convention, and executed the next day.

*Fall of
Robespierre,
9th Ther-
midor.*

The Rule of the Thermidorians (July 27, 1794, to October 26, 1795).

The fall of Robespierre put an end to the Terror, not so much because he had created it, as because the system had, after a year of frightful ravages, become thoroughly discredited, and further, because the Thermidorians, many of whom had been the most active promoters of the Terror, were politic enough to bow to the force of circumstances. They therefore heaped all the blame for the past

*Return to
mild
counsels.*

¹ The Convention, guided by its hatred of the royalist past, had introduced a new system of time reckoning. Since the birth of the Republic was regarded as more important than the birth of Christ, September 22, 1792, the first day of the Republic was voted the beginning of a new era. The whole Christian calendar was at the same time declared to be tainted with aristocracy, and a new calendar devised. The chief feature of the new revolutionary calendar was the invention of new names for the months, such as: Nivôse, Snow month; Pluviôse, Rain month; Ventôse, Wind month, for the winter months. Germinal, Budding month; Floréal, Flower Month; Prairial, Meadow month, for the spring months, etc.

It is worthy of notice that the Convention introduced one change which has become popular. It supplanted the old and complicated system of weights and measures by the metrical system.

year on the dead Robespierre, and impudently assumed the character of life-long lovers of rule and order. Slowly the bourgeoisie recovered its courage, and rallied to the support of the Thermidorian party; finally, a succession of concerted blows swept the fragments of the Terror from the face of France. The municipality of Paris, the citadel of the rioters, was dissolved; the Revolutionary Tribunal dispersed; the functions of the Committee of Public Safety restricted; and, to make victory sure, the Jacobin Club, the old hearth of disorder, was closed. During the next year—the last of its long lease of power—the Convention ruled France in full accord with the moderate opinion of the majority of the citizens.

But if the Terror fell, its overthrow was due also to the fact that it had accomplished its end. Its excuse, as we have seen, was the danger of France, and whatever else be said of it, it had really succeeded in defending France against the forces of a tremendous coalition. On this defence the reader must now bestow a rapid glance. In the campaign of 1793 the French had just about held their own, but, in 1794, the splendid power of organization exhibited by Carnot, the military expert of the Committee of Public Safety, and his gift for picking out young talent, enabled the revolutionary army to carry the war into the territory of the enemy. In the course of this year Jourdan's victory at Fleurus (June 26) laid Belgium at the feet of the French armies, and shortly after Pichegru occupied Holland. Belgium, as a part of the Austrian dominions, was quickly annexed to France, but Holland was merely modelled, after the example of France, into the Batavian Republic, and, for the present, confirmed in its independence (1795). These astonishing victories prepared the disruption of the coalition, and as the Thermidorians, for their part, had no desire to continue the war for ever, they entered, on receiving information

*Peace with
Prussia and
Spain,
1795.*

of the favourable disposition of Prussia and Spain, into negotiations with these governments, and in the spring of

1795 concluded peace with them at Basle. By these treaties, as well as by those with Tuscany and Hesse Cassel, the position of France was made very much more simple; of the great powers, England and Austria alone were now left in the field against her.

Meanwhile, the Convention had taken up the long-neglected task for which it had been summoned: in the course of the year 1795, it suppressed the insurrections of the 12th Germinal (April 1) and of the 1st Prairial (May 20) which were stirred up by the Jacobins, and it completed a new constitution for republican France. This constitution was all ready to be promulgated, when, in October, the Convention had to meet one more assault of the lawless elements, known as the insurrection of the 13th Vendemiaire (October 5). But somewhat more courageous of late it resolved to defend itself, and entrusted the task to a committee, which in turn trusted it to a young officer, present in Paris by chance, Napoleon Bonaparte. This young officer had already creditably distinguished himself at Toulon, and wanted nothing better than this opportunity. When the mob marched against the Convention on October 5, young Bonaparte received them with such a volley of grape-shot, that they fled precipitately, leaving hundreds of their comrades dead upon the pavement. It was a new way of treating the Parisian mob, and it had its effect. Henceforth, in the face of such resolution, the mob lost taste for the dictation which it had exercised unquestioned for six years. Thus the appearance on the scene of Bonaparte and his soldiers meant the dawn of a new era of order.

The Convention could not perform its remaining business without fear. On October 26 it dissolved itself, and the new constitution went immediately into effect. This constitution is called the Constitution of the year III., from the year of the republican calendar in which it was completed. It established an executive of five members, called the Directory, while it entrusted the

The Convention completes its constitution.

Bonaparte protects the Convention, October, 1795.

The Constitution of the year III.

legislative functions to two houses—a significant departure from the constitution of 1791, the single legislative house of which had proved a failure — called, respectively, the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Ancients.

The Directory (1795-99).

The Directory wished to signalize its accession to power by a brilliant victory over the remaining enemies of France—England, Austria, and Sardinia. But an attack upon England was, because of the lack of a fleet, out of the question. With Austria, the case was different, and Austria the Directory now resolved to strike with the combined armies of France. In accordance with this purpose, “the organizer of victory,” Carnot, who was one of the Directors, worked out a plan by which the Austrians were to be attacked simultaneously in Germany and Italy. Two splendid armies under Jourdan and Moreau were assigned to the German task, which was regarded as by far the more important, while the Italian campaign, undertaken as a mere diversion, was entrusted to a shabbily equipped army of 30,000 men, which was put under the command of the defender of the Convention, General Bonaparte. But by the mere force of his genius, Bonaparte upset completely the calculations of the Directory, and gave his end of the campaign such importance that he, and not Jourdan or Moreau, decided the war.

Bonaparte’s task was to beat, with his army, an army of Piedmontese and Austrians twice as large. Because of the superiority of the combined forces of the enemy, he naturally resolved to meet the Piedmontese and Austrians separately. Everything in this plan depended on quickness, and it was now to appear that quickness was Bonaparte’s great military merit. Before the snows had melted from the mountains, he arrived unexpectedly before the gates of Turin, and wrested a peace from

the king of Sardinia, by the terms of which this old enemy of France had to surrender Savoy and Nice (May, 1796). Then Bonaparte turned against the Austrians, and before May was over, he had driven them out of Lombardy. The Pope and the small princes, in alarm, hastened to buy peace of France by the cession of territories and of works of art, while the Austrians tried again and again to recover their lost position. But at Arcola (November, 1796) and Rivoli (January, 1797), Bonaparte, by his astonishing alertness, beat signally the forces sent against him. Then he crossed the Alps to dictate terms under the walls of Vienna.

This sudden move of Bonaparte's determined the emperor Francis II. to sue for peace, and out of the negotiations which ensued there grew the Treaty of Campo Formio (October, 1797). By this Treaty Austria ceded her Belgian provinces to France, recognized the political creations of France in Italy, and the French possession of the Ionian islands, and promised to use her influence to get the empire to accept the principle of the Rhine boundary. In return for these concessions, she received from France the republic of Venice and Venetian territories in Istria and Dalmatia and as far as the Adige.

*The Peace
of Campo
Formio,
1797.*

The French political creations in Italy which Austria recognized by the Peace of Campo Formio were the personal work of Bonaparte, having been established by him out of the conquests of the war. They were the Cisalpine republic, identical, in the main, with the old Austrian province of Lombardy, and the Ligurian republic, evolved from the old republic of Genoa. Both these republics were modelled upon the republic of France, and were made entirely dependent upon their prototype.

*Bonaparte
creates two
republics in
Italy.*

When Bonaparte returned to France he was greeted as the national hero, for he had at last given France the peace which she had been so long desiring. And while renewing peaceful relations between her and the Continent, he had won for her terms more favourable

*Bonaparte
the hero of
France.*

than her greatest monarch had ever dreamt of. A man who had in a single campaign so distinguished himself and his country naturally stood, henceforward, at the centre of affairs.

That Napoleon Bonaparte should obtain a position of pre-eminence in France, before he had reached the age of thirty, would never have been prophesied by the friends of his youth. He was born on the island of Corsica on August 15, 1769. It so happened that at the time of his birth, France, which had just obtained this Italian island by cession from the small state of Genoa, was engaged in establishing her rule there, and though the Corsicans resisted this act of aggression, they had in the end to yield. One curious consequence of this struggle between the French and the Corsicans was, that the boy Napoleon learned to detest the French so bitterly that he was dominated by this hatred throughout the period of his early manhood. Only very gradually did he make his peace with the conquering nation, and chiefly through the agency of the French Revolution. The French Revolution opened a career for talent, and thus enabled him, who had adopted the military profession, to rise rapidly from grade to grade, and satisfy his passionate dream of ambition. First at the siege of Toulon, and then at Paris, he had won distinction. Now the Peace of Campo Formio lifted him head and shoulders above all rivals.

With the continent at peace with France, the Directory had cause to congratulate itself. It had beaten down all the enemies of France with the exception of England, but England still showed no disposition to yield to the Republic.

Therefore, in the year 1798, the Directory, having by the *coup d'état* of Fructidor (September, 1797) strengthened its position, engaged in a determined attack on England in order to bring her to terms. As the lack of a fleet put an invasion of the island-kingdom out of the question, it was resolved to strike England indirectly, by threatening her possessions.

*Bonaparte's
life.*

*England
alone in the
field.*

*England
attacked in
Egypt,
1798.*

With due secrecy an expedition was prepared at Toulon, and Bonaparte was given the command. Nelson, the English admiral, was, of course, on the watch, but Bonaparte succeeded in evading his vigilance, and in May, 1798, set out for Egypt. Egypt, then a province of Turkey, has always been regarded as the key to the East, and Bonaparte by establishing himself on the Nile, could threaten the connection of England with India and the East. It was for this reason that Nelson immediately gave chase as soon as he heard of Bonaparte's movements, and although he arrived too late to hinder the French from landing near Alexandria, he just as effectually ruined the French expedition, by attacking the French fleet on August 1, at Abukir Bay, and destroying it *Battle of* utterly. Bonaparte might now go on conquering *Abukir Bay*. Egypt and all Africa—he was shut off from Europe and as good as imprisoned with his whole army.

Thus the Egyptian campaign was lost before it had fairly begun. Napoleon could blind his soldiers to the fact but he hardly blinded himself. Of course he did what he could to retrieve the disaster to his fleet, and by his brilliant victory over the Egyptian soldiery, the Mamelukes, in the battle of the Pyramids (1798) he made himself master of the basin of the Nile. The next year he marched to Syria. The seaport of Acre, which he besieged in order to establish communication with France, repulsed his attack; the plague decimated his brave troops. Sick at heart Bonaparte returned to Egypt, and despairing of a change in his fortunes, suddenly resolved to leave his army. On August 22, 1799, he contrived to run the English blockade, and on October 9 he landed with a few friends at Fréjus. Though the army he had abandoned was irretrievably lost,¹ that fact was forgotten amid the rejoicings with which the conqueror of Italy was received in France.

The enthusiastic welcome of France, which turned Bonaparte's journey to Paris into a triumphal procession, was due

¹ The army surrendered to the English a year later.

partly to the unexpected reverses which the Directory had suffered during the young general's absence. *The Second Coalition, 1799.* Bonaparte was hardly known to have been shut up in Egypt, when Europe, hopeful of shaking off the French ascendancy, formed a new coalition against the warlike republic. Austria and Russia, supported by English money, renewed the continental war, and the year 1799 was marked by a succession of victories which swept the French out of Italy and Germany.

No wonder that the hopes of the nation gathered around the dashing military leader. What other French general had exhibited such genius as Bonaparte, had won such glory for himself and France? *Napoleon, the saviour.* Besides the executive of the five Directors, unable to maintain even the show of harmony, was beginning to lose its grip. So evidently had disorder set in that the royalists came out of their hiding-places, and negotiated openly about the return of the legitimate king. In short, in October, 1799, France was in such confusion that everybody turned spontaneously to Bonaparte as toward a saviour.

Bonaparte was hardly apprized of this state of public opinion when he resolved to overthrow the government.

Bonaparte overthrows the Directory, 1799. The only resistance which he encountered was from the Chamber of Five Hundred, and that body was overcome by the use of military force. The ease with which Bonaparte executed the *coup d'état* of Brumaire (November 9), 1799 (18th Brumaire), proves that the Constitution of Year III. was dead in spirit, before he destroyed it in fact.

The Consulate (1799 to 1804).

Bonaparte was now free to set up a new constitution, in which an important place would be assured to himself. Rightly he divined that what France needed and desired was a strong executive, for ten years of anarchic liberty had

prepared the people for the renewal of despotism Thus the result of Bonaparte's deliberations with his friends was the Consular Constitution, the creation of the able Siéyès, by which the government was practically concentrated in the hands of one official, called the First Consul. Of course, the appearances of popular government were preserved. The legislative functions were delegated to two bodies, the Tribunate and the Legislative Body, but as the former discussed bills without voting upon them, and the latter merely voted upon them without discussing them, their power was so divided that they necessarily lost all influence. Without another *coup d'état*, by means of a simple change of title, the consul Bonaparte could, when he saw fit, evolve himself into the emperor Napoleon.

Bonaparte gives France a new constitution.

But for the present, there was more urgent business on hand, for, as France was at war with the Second Coalition, there was work to be done in the field. The opportune withdrawal of Russia, before the beginning of the campaign, again limited the enemies of France to England and Austria. The situation was, therefore, analogous to that of 1796, and the First Consul resolved to meet it by an analogous plan. Concentrating his attention upon Austria, he sent Moreau against her into Germany, while he himself went to meet her, as once before, in Italy. By a dramatic march in the early spring over the Great St Bernard Pass, he was enabled to strike unexpectedly across the Austrian line of retreat, and to force the enemy to make a stand. In the Battle of Marengo, which followed (June 14, 1800), he crushed the Austrians, and recovered all Italy at a stroke. Again Francis II. had to admit the invincibility of French arms. In the Peace of Lunéville (1801), he reconfirmed all the cessions made at Campo Formio, and as the empire became a party to the Peace of Lunéville, there was no flaw this time in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine. It is this feature of the Rhine boundary which gives the Peace of Lunéville its importance. As the Peace, furthermore, re-delivered Italy into Bonaparte's

Napoleon again in Italy.

Peace of Lunéville, 1801.

The Rhine boundary.

hands, to do with as he pleased, he now re-established the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics in their old dependence upon France.

Again, as in 1798, the only member of the coalition which held out against France was England. How was the great sea-

Peace of Amiens, 1802. power to be humbled? Bonaparte's naval force was always unequal to this task, and he had no desire to renew the Egyptian experiment. Being

at the end of his resources, he opened negotiations with the cabinet at London, and in March, 1802, concluded with England, on the basis of mutual restitutions, the Peace of Amiens.

France was now, after ten years of fighting, at peace with the whole world. The moment was auspicious, but it remained to

France at peace with the world. be seen whether she could accumulate the strength within, and inspire the confidence without, which would enable her to make the year 1802 the starting-point of a new development.

Certainly Bonaparte showed no want of vigour in engaging in the tasks of peace, although even a strong man might have been

Bonaparte undertakes the reconstruction of France. discouraged by the chaotic aspect of the country. It is not too much to say, that in consequence of the wholesale destruction which characterized the last decade, there was not, when Bonaparte assumed

power, a principle or an institution of government which stood unimpaired. The work before the First Consul during the interval of peace which followed the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens was, therefore, nothing less than the reconstruction of the whole of France. But this reconstructive labour Bonaparte now undertook, and a good deal of it survives to this day, constituting his best title to fame.

First to consider is Bonaparte's system of administration. The internal administration of France had, during the last ten years,

A centralized administration. fallen into complete anarchy. To remedy the disorder in the departments, Napoleon invented a system of prefects and sub-prefects, who, appointed directly by himself, ruled the department like so many "little first consuls." This meant, of course, the abandonment of the ideas of self-government developed by the Revolution, but it

meant also order, and that was all the people wanted for the present.

Next Napoleon gave back to France her religion and her Church. The Revolution had consistently opposed the Roman Church ; it had confiscated its property, and had attempted to make its ministers officials of the state. Napoleon knew that the restoration of the Church would win him the gratitude of the people, and, therefore, soon after his advent to power he opened negotiations with the pope which ended in a peace called the Concordat (1801). By the terms of the Concordat, the Church, on the one hand, resigned its claims to its confiscated possessions, but the state, in return, assumed the maintenance, on a liberal basis, of the priests and bishops. Besides, the government reserved to itself the nomination of these latter. Thus the Church was re-established, but on very close dependence on the state.

Reconciliation with the Church, 1801.

But Bonaparte's greatest creation was the reconstruction of the French courts and laws effected by the *Code Napoléon*. The juridical confusion reigning in France, before the Revolution, is indescribable. By the *Code Napoléon* (1804), all France received a common book of laws and a common system of justice, whereby the handling of lawsuits was made rapid, cheap, and reliable. No labour of a similar degree of perfection had been performed since the great codification of Roman laws under the emperor Justinian.

Return of justice. The Code Napoléon.

If Bonaparte had sincerely attached himself to the policy of peace, heralded by the above creations, it is not improbable that he would have succeeded in consolidating the results of the Revolution. But the works of peace and the duties of a civil magistrate could not long satisfy his boundless hunger for action and his love of glory, which led him to aspire to the splendour of a conqueror like Alexander, or to the majesty of an emperor of the sway of Augustus. In 1802 he had himself elected consul for life. The step brought him within view of the throne, and in May, 1804, he dropped the last pretence of republicanism, and had himself proclaimed emperor of the French. Finally, in

Napoleon crowns himself emperor (December 2, 1804).

December of the same year, amidst ceremonies recalling the glories of Versailles, he crowned himself and his wife Josephine at the Church of Notre Dame, at Paris.

The Empire (1804 to 1815).

The change of France from a republic to a monarchy, naturally affected the circle of subject-republics with which she had surrounded herself. Their so-called "freedom" had been the gift of France, and could not logically stand when France herself had surrendered hers. At a nod from Napoleon, the Batavian Republic now changed itself into the Kingdom of Holland, and thankfully accepted Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, for king. In like manner, the Cisalpine Republic became the Kingdom of Italy; but in Italy, Napoleon himself assumed the power, and in May, 1805, was formally crowned king of Italy at Milan.

*Napoleon
king of
Italy, May,
1805.*

Even before these momentous changes, the confidence with which the European governments had first greeted Napoleon had vanished. Slowly they began to divine in him the insatiable conqueror, who was only awaiting an opportunity to swallow them all. As early as 1803 continued negotiations between him and England had ended in a renewal of the war. Napoleon now prepared a great naval armament at Boulogne, and for a year, at least, England was agitated by the prospect of a descent upon her coasts; but the lack of an adequate fleet made Napoleon's project chimerical from the first, and in the summer of 1805 he unreservedly gave it up.

*Renewal of
the war with
England.*

He gave it up because his fleet proved incapable of holding the sea. In the meantime, England had succeeded in arranging with Austria and Russia a new coalition (the third). No sooner had Napoleon got wind of the state of affairs, than he abandoned his English expedition, and threw himself upon the task of defeating his continental enemies. At Austerlitz, in Moravia, he inflicted a decisive defeat upon the combined Austrians and Russians

*The Third
Coalition.*

*Austerlitz,
1805.*

(December 2, 1805). Again the emperor Francis II. was reduced to bow down before the invincible Corsican, and at the Peace of Pressburg (December 26, 1805) he gave up Venice, which was incorporated with the Kingdom of Italy, and Tyrol, which was incorporated with Bavaria. At the same time, the small South German States, Bavaria and Wurtemberg, were recognized as kingdoms.

This last provision of the Peace of Pressburg made a full revelation of Napoleon's German policy ; clearly he wished to increase the lesser states of Germany to the point where they could neutralize the power of the two great states, Austria and Prussia. For this reason he lavished favours upon them, and made them so dependent upon his will, that they could offer no resistance when he proposed to them the idea of a new political union. This union was the Con-
Napoleon creates the Confederation of the Rhine, 1806.
 federation of the Rhine, which all the important German states, with the exception of Austria and Prussia, agreed finally to join, Napoleon himself assuming the guidance of it, under the name of Protector (1806).

Naturally the Confederation of the Rhine effected a revolution in the old German political system. With southern and western Germany acknowledging allegiance to a new union of French origin, what room was there for the old empire? Having been deserted by its supporters, it was actually at an end. Therefore, at the news of the new Confederation, the emperor Francis II. resolved to make a legal end of it as well, and formally resigned. Thus perished the Holy Roman Empire, which had stood in the world since the times of the great Augustus. Never was there an institution so long in dying. Centuries ago it had lost its efficacy, and its dignity. Certainly no German had any cause to shed a tear at the passing away of such a national government. As for Francis II., he adopted the unhistorical title of emperor of Austria.

The end of the Holy Roman Empire.

The interference of Napoleon in Germany brought about

next, the ruin of Prussia. Ever since 1795 (Treaty of Basle), Prussia had maintained toward France a friendly neutrality, and all the persuasion and threats of the rest of Europe had not induced her to join the Second and Third Coalitions. But now that Napoleon had set himself the aim of conquering Europe, and had already reduced Austria, Italy, and Germany to terms, peace with Prussia was no longer in accordance with his plans. He therefore deliberately provoked Prussia, until the obsequious government of king Frederick William III. (1797-1840) could sink no lower, and had to declare war (1806).

The campaign of 1806 was the most brilliant that Napoleon had yet fought. In a few weeks he had defeated the Prussians at Jena, entered Berlin, and practically ruined the monarchy of Frederick. With a bare handful of troops Frederick William III. fled eastward, in order to put himself under the protection of Russia.

All central Europe now lay in Napoleon's hand, but he was not yet content. In order to humiliate the presumptuous ally of Prussia, the Czar Alexander (1801-25), Napoleon now set out for Russia. But having in June, 1807, won the splendid victory of Friedland (East Prussia), he accepted Alexander's overtures of peace.

The Czar Alexander had long felt a secret admiration for the great Corsican, and now, when he met him under romantic circumstances, on a raft moored in the river Niemen, he fell completely under the spell of his personality. The consequence of the repeated deliberations of the emperors, to which Frederick William of Prussia was also admitted, was the Peace of Tilsit (July, 1807). By this Peace Russia was restored without loss, but Prussia was thoroughly humiliated and condemned to the sacrifice of half her territory. The Prussian provinces between the Elbe and the Rhine were made into a Kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's brother Jerome, and the Prussian

spoils of the later Polish partitions were constituted as the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, and given to the elector of Saxony, whom Napoleon in pursuance of his established German policy, created king. Thus, Prussia was virtually reduced to a secondary state.

But the most important feature of the Treaty of Tilsit was, perhaps, the alliance between France and Russia, which was developed from the simple peace. The gist of it was that Napoleon and Alexander should divide Europe between them, Napoleon exercising supremacy in the west and Alexander in the east.

*Alliance
between
Napoleon
and
Alexander.*

The Peace of Tilsit carried Napoleon to the zenith of his career. He was now emperor of the French and king of Italy; he held Germany as Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Switzerland as Mediator of the Helvetic Republic; and in certain scattered territories, which he had not cared to absorb immediately, he ruled through subject-kings of his own family: through his brother Louis in Holland, through his brother Jerome in Westphalia, through his brother Joseph in Naples. Central Europe lay prostrate before him, while in the east Russia was his ally. To a man of Napoleon's imperiousness it was an intolerable indignity that one nation still dared threaten him with impunity—England.

*Napoleon at
the zenith of
his career.*

The war with England was renewed in 1803, and in October, 1805—Napoleon being then on his march to Vienna—Nelson destroyed the allied French and Spanish fleets off Trafalgar. The great Nelson perished in this engagement, at the moment of victory. Since then fighting on the seas has ceased. Though Napoleon might strike the inhabitants of Vienna and St Petersburg with fear, his power, being military and not naval, ended with the shore. In the dilemma in which he found himself he now hit upon a curious device in order to bring England to terms. He resolved to ruin her commerce and sap her strength by the so-called Continental System. As early as November, 1806, he sent out

*War
against
England:
the Conti-
nental Sys-
tem.*

from Berlin a number of decrees enforcing the seizure of English goods, and ordering the cessation of English traffic in all French and allied ports; and at Tilsit he had, with the consent of Alexander, declared the commercial breach with England incumbent on all Europe. As England immediately responded with a blockade of all the continental ports, the conflict between England, dominant on the seas, and Napoleon, dominant on the Continent, now took the form of a vast struggle between the sea power and the land power.

The Continental System may fairly be called the beginning of Napoleon's downfall, for it marks the point where the great genius overreached himself. By means of the Continental System trade was ruined and misery and famine systematically created. More and more the people of Europe became incensed at their oppressor, and more and more did the subject-nations incline to revolt from him. But if ever the nations of Europe rose of one accord what chance was there for Napoleon's loose-jointed, cosmopolitan empire?

The first protest against the Continental System was made, curiously enough, by little Portugal. In order to close its ports against the English, Napoleon occupied it with an army, November, 1807. The resistance offered at first was small, and the royal family fled to Brazil.

For the same purpose, Napoleon next occupied Spain. The relations between France and the Spanish Bourbons had, since the peace of 1795, been exceedingly friendly; Napoleon and Charles IV. of Spain had even become allies, and the latter had exhibited his good faith by sacrificing his fleet, for Napoleon's sake, at Trafalgar. Nevertheless, Napoleon now deliberately determined to deprive his friend of his kingdom. Taking advantage of a quarrel between the king and his son Ferdinand, he invited the royal pair to France, to lay their quarrel before him, and then, instead of adjudicating between them, he

forced both to resign their rights to the throne (May 1808). Spain was thereupon given to Napoleon's brother Joseph, who, in return, had to hand over his kingdom of Naples to Napoleon's brother-in-law, the great cavalry leader Murat.

This unexampled violation of law and justice occasioned a terrible excitement among the Spaniards. Spontaneously the various provinces of the proud nation rose in revolt *The Spanish revolt.* against the foreign usurper, and attacked him not with a professional army but in guerilla bands. The result was that the summer of 1808 brought Napoleon a harvest of small calamities, and to make things worse, England began, gradually, to take a hand in Spanish affairs. Having waited in vain for Napoleon to seek her on the sea, she found and seized this opportunity to seek him on the land, and in the summer of 1808 dispatched an English army into Portugal for the purpose of supporting the Portuguese and Spanish *England helps Spain.* national revolts. Alexander's support was now absolutely necessary for Napoleon, who met the Czar at Erfurt. There, by concessions (October 1808), he made himself safe on the side of Russia, and hurried to Spain. He had no difficulty in sweeping the Spaniards into the hills and the English to their ships, but he was hardly gone when the Spaniards again ventured forth from their retreats, and the English forced a new landing.

Napoleon had now to learn that a resolute people cannot be conquered. The Spanish war swallowed immense sums and immense forces ; but Napoleon, as stubborn in his way as the Spaniards, would give ear to no suggestion of concession. Slowly, however, circumstances told against him. The revolts showed no signs of abating, and when, in 1809, a capable general, Sir Arthur Wellesley, known by his later title of duke of Wellington, took command of the English forces, and foot by foot forced his way toward Madrid, Napoleon's Spanish enterprise became hopeless. Of course, that was not immediately apparent ; but what did become very soon apparent was that the enslaved states of central Europe were taking the cue from the Spaniards. *Successes of the Spaniards and of Wellington.*

and were preparing, in a similar manner, a popular struggle to the death with their oppressor. Among the causes of Napoleon's hurried departure from Spain at the end of 1808 was the knowledge that Austria was arming.

In the year 1809, Austria, encouraged by the Spanish successes, attempted to arouse the Germans to a national revolt. But the result proved that the effort was premature. At Wagram (July, 1809) Napoleon laid Austria a fourth time at his feet, and in the Peace of Vienna which followed, forced her to make further cessions of territory. It is not improbable that Napoleon would now have made an end of Austria altogether, if he had not been forced to provide for a complete change of his political system.

The fact was, that the Czar Alexander was getting tired of the arrangements of Tilsit. The Peace of Tilsit practically shut

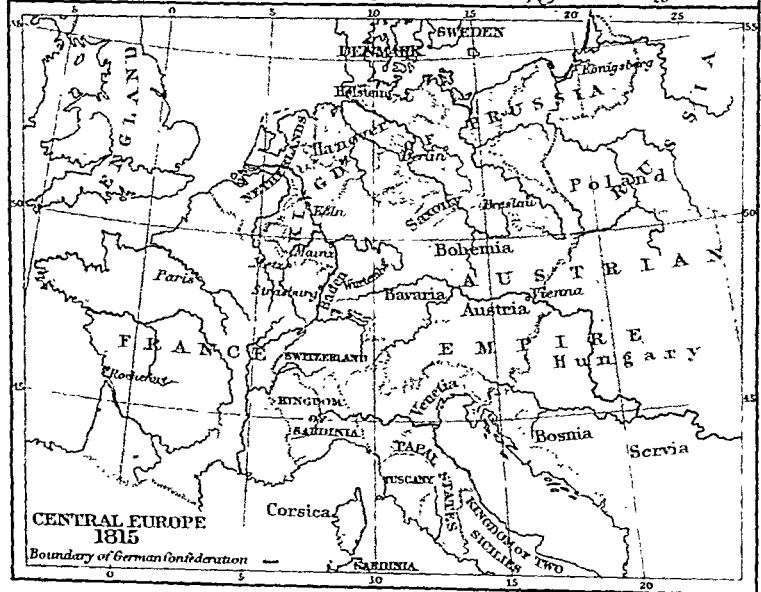
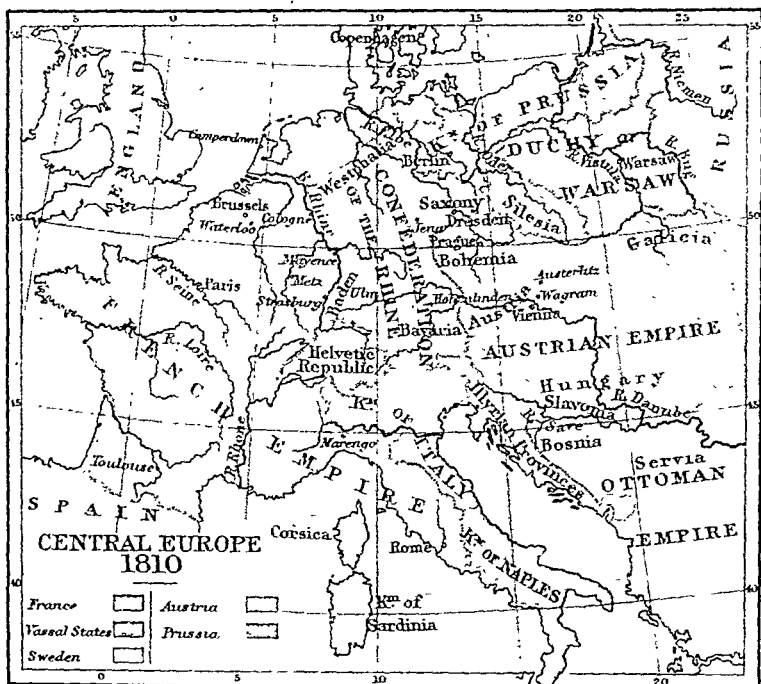
Napoleon and Czar Alexander draw away from one another. Russia off from the west, and made it incumbent upon the Czar to accept beforehand every alteration in that part of Europe which Napoleon chose to dictate. Then the Continental System, to which Alexander had pledged himself, was proving in

Russia, as elsewhere, a heavy burden. Moreover, Alexander had promised to Napoleon the hand of a Russian princess, and when he would not carry out his promise, Napoleon turned to Austria. Austria was, after the war of 1809, in no position to refuse the

Napoleon seeks an alliance with Austria. proffered friendship, and when Napoleon demanded the hand of the emperor's daughter Marie Louise, that request, too, had to be granted. In consequence of these changed political

Napoleon divorces Josephine. plans, Napoleon divorced his first wife, the amiable Josephine Beauharnais, and in April, 1810, celebrated his union with a daughter of the ancient imperial line of Hapsburg. When, in the succeeding year, there was born to him a son and heir,¹ he could fancy that his throne had finally acquired permanence.

¹ Known as king of Rome and styled Napoleon II. He died young (1832), at the court of his grandfather, the emperor of Austria.



The breach between Napoleon and Alexander became definite in the course of the year 1810. The seizure by Napoleon of the duchy of Oldenburg, the ruler of which was Alexander's relative, and the cession of Western Galicia to the duchy of Warsaw, made the Czar furious. At last, on December 31, 1810, he issued an edict, modifying his adhesion to the Continental System. This completed the rupture, and during 1811 both powers, therefore, eagerly prepared for war, and in the spring of 1812, Napoleon set in movement toward Russia the greatest armament that Europe had ever seen. A half million of men, representing all the nationalities of Napoleon's cosmopolitan empire, seemed more than adequate to the task of bringing the Czar under the law of the emperor. And the expedition was, at first, attended by a series of splendid successes. In September Napoleon even occupied Moscow, the Russian capital, and there calmly waited to receive Alexander's submission.

But he had underrated the spirit of resistance which animated the empire of the Czar. Here, as in Spain, a determination to die rather than yield possessed every man, woman, and child, and Napoleon was destined to receive, at the very culmination of a triumphant campaign, a terrible witness of the popular aversion. He had hardly arrived in Moscow when the whole city was, in accordance with a carefully laid plan on the part of the retreating Russians, set on fire and burned to the foundations.

The burning of Moscow meant nothing more nor less than the loss of the campaign, for Moscow gone, there was not the least chance of finding adequate winter quarters in Russia. What was there left to do? Napoleon, with heavy heart, had to order the retreat. The rest of the campaign can be imagined, but not told. The frost of a winter unexampled even in that northern climate; the gnawing hunger, which there was nothing to appease but occasional horseflesh; and, finally, the fierce bands of enveloping Cossacks racked that poor army, till its discipline broke and its deci-

mated battalions melted into a wild heap of struggling fugitives. Napoleon, in order to check discontent in France, on December 5, deserted the army, and hurried to Paris. Only late in December the remnant of the so-called grand army dragged itself across the Niemen into safety.

The loss of his splendid army in Russia was, in any case, a serious calamity to Napoleon. But it would become an irremediable catastrophe, if it encouraged Central Europe to a general revolt, and created new complications at a juncture when he required all his strength to repair the greatest disaster which had hitherto befallen him. Unluckily for

Europe prepares to rise. Napoleon, patriots everywhere felt this fact instinctively. Here was a moment of supreme importance, offering to all the conquered peoples of Europe the alternative of now or never, and at the call of the patriots, they rose against their military master and overthrew him. But the honour of having risen first belongs to Prussia.

The Peace of Tilsit had indeed ground Prussia into the dust, but it had also prepared her redemption. A number of sober and patriotic men, notably Stein, Hardenburg, and Scharnhorst, had, after the overthrow at Jena, gained the upper hand in the council of the weak king, and had carried through a series of reforms, such as the abolition of serfdom and the reorganization of the army on a national basis, which, as by some process of magic, rejuvenated the state. When this renovated nation heard of Napoleon's ruin on the Russian snowfields, it was hardly to be contained for joy and impatience. All classes were seized with the conviction that the great hour of revenge had come; no debate, no delay on

Prussia declares war, 1813. the part of the timid king was suffered, and resistlessly swept along in the rising tide of enthusiasm, he was forced to sign an alliance with Russia at Kalisch (February, 1813), and declare war (March, 1813).

The disastrous campaign of 1812 would have exhausted any other man than Napoleon. But he faced the new situation as undaunted as ever. By herculean efforts he succeeded

in mustering a new army, and in the spring of 1813 he appeared suddenly in the heart of Germany, ready to punish the Prussians and the Russians. At Lützen (May 2), and at Bautzen (May 20), he maintained his ancient reputation. But clearly the day of the Jenas and Friedlands was over, for the allies after their defeat fell back in good order upon Silesia, and Napoleon had to confess that his victories had been paid for by such heavy losses that to win, at this rate, was equivalent to ruin. On June 4 he agreed to an armistice (of Pleswitz) till August 10, in order to reorganize his troops.

*First half
of the cam-
paign of
1813.*

Both parties now became aware that the issue of the campaign depended upon Austria; so delicately adjusted were the scales between the combatants that the side upon which she would throw her influence would win. In these circumstances Metternich, Austria's minister, undertook, at first, the rôle of mediator, but when Napoleon indignantly rejected the conditions for a general peace which Metternich proposed, and the armistice came to an end, Austria threw in her lot with the European coalition, and in the autumn of 1813 there followed a concerted forward movement on the part of all the allies: Prussians, Russians, and Austrians crowded in upon Napoleon from all sides. Having the smaller force (160,000 men against 255,000 of the allies), he was gradually out-manœuvred, and at the great three days' battle of Leipsic (October 16-18) crushed utterly. With such remnants as he could hold together he hurried across the Rhine. Germany was lost beyond recovery. The question now was merely: would he be able to retain France?

*Second half
of campaign
of 1813.*

*Battle of
Leipsic.*

On November 9, the allies offered Napoleon excellent terms at Frankfort, leaving to his empire the "natural boundaries" of France, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. But Napoleon refused the conditions, and therefore, after a moment's hesitation on the shores of the Rhine, the allies invaded the French territory, resolved to make an end of their enemy. Still Napoleon, always fearless, held out. Military men regard his

campaign of the winter of 1814 as worthy of his best years, but he was now hopelessly outnumbered, and when, on March 31, the allies forced the gates of Paris, even Napoleon's confidence received a shock. As he looked about him, he saw the whole east of France in the hands of his enemies of Leipsic, while the south was as rapidly falling into the power of Wellington, who, having signally defeated the army of Marshal Soult in Spain, was now pursuing it across the Pyrenees. On April 6, 1814, Napoleon declared at his castle at Fontainebleau that all was over, and offered his abdication. The allies conceded him the island of Elba, as a residence, and then gave their attention to the problem of the future of France. Not from any enthusiasm for the House of Bourbon, but merely because there was no other way out of the difficulties, they finally gave their sanction to the accession to the throne of Louis XVIII., brother of the last king. As regards the extent of the restored kingdom, it was agreed in the Peace of Paris that France was to receive the boundaries of 1792.

This important work being completed, a general congress of the powers assembled at Vienna to discuss the reconstruction of Europe. The modern age has not seen a more brilliant gathering, all the sovereigns and statesmen who had stood at the centre of public attention during the last momentous years being, with few exceptions, present. But before the Congress of Vienna had ended its labours, the military coalition, which the congress represented, was once more called upon to take the field. For, in March, 1815, the news reached the sovereigns at Vienna, that Napoleon had made his escape from Elba, and had again landed in France.

The resolution formed by Napoleon in February, 1815, to try conclusions once more with united Europe was a desperate measure. On March 1 he landed unexpectedly near Cannes, and no sooner had he displayed his banners, than his former soldiers streamed to the standards, to which they were attached with heart and soul by

innumerable glorious memories. Marshal Ney, who was sent out by Louis XVIII. to take Napoleon captive, broke into tears at sight of his old leader, and folded him in his arms. There was no resisting the magnetic power of the name Napoleon. Louis XVIII. again fled across the border, and the hero of the soldiers and the common people entered Paris amidst the wildest acclamations.

The Hundred Days, as Napoleon's restoration is called, form a mere after-play to the great drama of the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, for there was never for a moment a chance of the emperor's success. The powers had hardly heard of the great soldier's return when they launched their excommunication against him, and converged their columns from all sides upon his capital. That Napoleon might under the circumstances win an encounter or two was undeniable; but that he would be crushed in the end was, from the first, certain as fate. The decision came in Belgium. There Wellington had gathered an English-German army, and thither marched to his assistance Marshal Blücher with his Prussians. These enemies, gathered against his northern frontier, Napoleon resolved to meet first. With his usual swiftness he fell upon Blücher on June 16 at Ligny, before Wellington could effect a junction, and beat him soundly. Leaving Marshal Grouchy with 30,000 men to pursue the Prussians, he next turned, on June 18, against Wellington.

*The Hundred Days—
an historical
interlude.*

Wellington, who had taken a strong defensive position near Waterloo, resolutely awaited the French attack. All the afternoon Napoleon hurried his infantry and cavalry against the iron duke's positions; he could not dislodge his enemy, and when, toward evening, the Prussians unexpectedly made their appearance on his right, he was caught between two fires, and totally ruined. Precipitately he fled to Paris, and there abdicated a second time. Deserted by all in his misfortunes, he now formed the idea of escaping to America, but on being recognized as he was about to

*The Battle
of Water-
loo, June 18,
1815.*

*Napoleon
sent to St
Helena.*

embark, he was taken prisoner, and by the verdict of the European coalition conveyed, soon after, to the rocky, mid-Atlantic island of St Helena.¹

At Paris, meanwhile, the allies were celebrating their victory *The Bourbon* by again raising Louis XVIII. to the throne *Restoration*. (Second Peace of Paris).

¹ At St Helena Napoleon died (1821), after a captivity of six years.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE HOLY ALLIANCE AND THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830

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THE battle of Waterloo having rung down the curtain on the great Napoleonic drama, the plenipotentiaries at Vienna could, in all peace of mind, bring their deliberations to a close. These were embodied in the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna, and, than this, no political treaty has ever been more universally condemned, because of the hide-bound conservatism which is its informing spirit. But all things taken into consideration, it was not so very unnatural that governments, which had suffered so severely from revolution, as the governments represented at Vienna, should have inclined toward a reactionary policy. Since revolution had proved an unmitigated evil, the best thing possible was to return to the pre-revolutionary conditions, and to restore the pre-revolutionary sovereigns or their heirs. This dominant principle of the Congress received the name of "legitimacy," and its most fanatical champion was the Austrian minister, Metternich.

The Congress of Vienna ruled by conservative principles.

Metternich and "legitimacy."

Now such a principle certainly had its excuse, but the

Congress at Vienna made the mistake of applying it blindly and in direct contravention, in frequent cases, to the rights of nationality and to the popular demand of free institutions. Only the overmastering longing for rest, which had come over Europe, after the unparalleled agitation of the last twenty-five years, explains why the very arbitrary arrangements of the Congress were accepted without protest. Sooner or later, however, a protest was sure to be made. The various peoples of Europe would remember the national and liberal ideas, which had been made common property by the Revolution, and then the narrow, reactionary policy of the Congress would become the subject of criticism and attack. In fact, the substance of the history of the nineteenth century may be said to be the conflict between the reactionary policy adopted by the *governments* at the Congress of Vienna and the expanding national and liberal ideas of the *people* themselves.

The Congress of Vienna concerned itself, first of all, with the restoration of the great powers. The two German powers, Prussia and Austria, acquired a territory as extensive as, but not identical with that enjoyed before the era of Napoleon. Though they gave up their claims to some of their Polish provinces, they received ample compensation, Austria in Italy, and Prussia in western Germany. The Polish provinces surrendered by Austria and Prussia were given to the Czar Alexander, who formed them into a new kingdom of Poland, with himself as king. England was rewarded for her share in the victory over Napoleon by a number of French and Dutch colonies, notably South Africa (the Cape) and Malta. Thus each one of the great powers, which had contributed to the overthrow of the Corsican conqueror, was not only restored to its former condition, but received a substantial increase.

The Congress encountered its greatest difficulties in arranging the affairs of Poland, Italy, and Germany. After angry discussions Poland was partially restored, and given a constitution, Alexander promising to rule as a constitu

tional king. As regards Italy, these difficulties were finally met by the application, in a loose way, to the Italian situation of the principle of legitimacy. The kingdom of Naples (also called the kingdom of the Two Sicilies) was restored to the "legitimate" Bourbon king; the pope got back the States of the Church; Tuscany was returned to its legal sovereign, a younger member of the House of Hapsburg; Piedmont, increased by the Republic of Genoa, was restored to the king of Sardinia; and Lombardy and Venice, far and away the richest provinces of Italy, were delivered over to Austria. There were also established a number of smaller states—for instance, Parma, Modena, Lucca—but it will be seen at a glance that the dominant power of the peninsula, on the basis of these arrangements, was Austria.

The "legitimate" rulers restored in Italy.

As for Germany, the Napoleonic wars had been a blessing in disguise. To note only one result: they had destroyed the old impotent empire, and had reduced the number of sovereign states from over three hundred to thirty-nine.¹ In September 1813, Prussia and Austria had made the Treaty of Töplitz settling the lines of the future government of Germany. The hopes of Stein for the establishment of a strong, independent German nation were dashed to the ground, and Metternich's policy of preserving the small states triumphed. From century-old habit the thirty-nine states looked upon each other with ill-favour, and even if the lesser ones could have mastered their mutual distrust, there still remained as a barrier to union the ineradicable jealousy between Austria and Prussia. Under these untoward circumstances, the utmost concession of the sovereign states to the popular demand for unity was a loose confederation called *Bund*. The constitution of the *Bund* provided for a Diet at Frankfurt, to which the governments of the thirty-nine states were invited to send

Instead of unity Germany gets the Bund.

¹ The thirty-nine states may, for convenience sake, be divided into three groups: 1, large states, Austria and Prussia; 2, middle states, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Wurtemberg, all raised to the rank of kingdoms by Napoleon; 3, small states, Hesse, Weimar, etc.

delegates, but as the constitution carefully omitted giving those delegates any notable functions, the Diet could enact no laws to speak of, and the *Bund* remained a farce.

We have already seen that the point of departure for the deliberations of the Congress of Vienna was the *The Holy Alliance*. hatred of revolution. This hatred developed into a fanatical faith, and in order to support better the cause of quiet and order against revolutionary disturbers, it was agreed on the part of the more ardent of the reactionary powers—Russia, Austria, and Prussia—to form what is known in history as the Holy Alliance. The Holy Alliance was on its face nothing more than a pledge on the part of the Czar Alexander, the emperor Francis, and king Frederick William to rule in accordance with the precepts of the Bible, but as these precepts were understood to be absolutist and reactionary, the Holy Alliance came to mean the determination to fight revolution with united forces wherever it showed itself.

The first revolution to shake Europe out of the unworthy stupor into which she had fallen on the overthrow of Napoleon, occurred in Spain. The fall of Napoleon had brought back to that country the deposed Bourbon monarch, Ferdinand VII. On his return to Spain he thought only of recovering all the autocratic rights of his ancestors, and deliberately set aside the constitution which the patriots had enacted during his absence, and which is always referred to as the Constitution of 1812. Then he started out on a policy which involved the abolition of all the Napoleonic reforms, the restoration of the monasteries, and the persecution of the patriots. By 1820 his government had made itself so intolerable that the liberals rose in revolt, with the result that the king, who was a coward at heart, immediately bowed to the storm, and restored the Constitution of 1812. Before reactionary Europe had recovered from the surprise and indignation caused by the news from Spain, a revolution similar to that of Spain shook the kingdom of Naples. In Naples

Reaction in Spain followed by revolution.

Revolution in Naples, 1820.

the Congress of Vienna had restored another Bourbon king, also named Ferdinand. A weak-kneed individual, he was frightened by a mere public demonstration into accepting a constitution similar to that of Spain.

In view of these threatening movements in Spain and in Naples, Metternich, the Austrian premier, called together a European Congress, first at Troppau (1820), and later at Laibach (1821). At these conferences he put the question before the great powers, whether revolutions should be suffered, or whether Europe would not be acting more wisely to interpose wherever the sacred rights of a legitimate monarch were attacked. Backed by his friends of the Holy Alliance, he carried his point at these Congresses; Europe formally adopted a policy of repression against revolution, and initiated its programme by charging Austria with the restoration in Naples of what Metternich was pleased to call "order."

Of course it was hardly to be expected that the Neapolitans would stand up against Austria. At the approach of the Austrian army, the liberal government immediately went to pieces, and king Ferdinand was restored as absolute monarch.

Austria makes an end of the constitution of Naples.

This first success so greatly delighted Metternich and his reactionary henchmen that they resolved to play a still bolder game. At a new Congress, held at Verona (1822), they resolved on intervention in Spain, and this time commissioned France with the execution of their verdict. As a result king Ferdinand was restored by a French army, and celebrated his return to absolute power by a series of cruel executions. Thus the reaction maintained its grip on Europe.

France restores despotism in Spain, 1823.

While the west was thus cowed and degraded by a ridiculous tutelage, a little country in the far east boldly ventured to assert the inalienable right of every people to liberty and self-government. This little country was the historic land of Greece. The very name of Greece had almost fallen into oblivion when, in 1821,

The re-nascence of Greece, 1821.

the inhabitants of the ancient peninsula aroused Europe to surprise and enthusiasm by rising concertedly against the power of the Turks, in whose repulsive bondage they had lain for many centuries. The sultan, in his rage at the audacity of the little people, allowed himself to be hurried into abominable atrocities (20,000 Greeks, for instance, were murdered in the island of Chios), but the Greeks resisted the Turkish tyranny every whit as bravely as their ancestors had, at Marathon and Thermopylæ, held out against the Persian invasion, and, though defeated, could not be subdued.

For a long time the governments of Europe took no part in the struggle, though it was a Christian nation which was fighting against Mohammedans. The European *peoples*, indeed, had exhibited a sympathy which stood out in noble contrast with the apathy of the *rulers*, and many were the volunteers who, joining the Greek ranks, had sacrificed wealth and life for the sacred soil of the old Hellenic culture; but

England, France, and Russia interfere in behalf of Greece. scattered volunteers do not decide great causes, and the governments, as has been said, remained cold and indifferent. At last the English minister, Canning, succeeded in persuading the Czar Nicholas, who had succeeded Alexander in 1825,

to interpose with him in behalf of the Greeks. France also lent her aid to Canning's project of intervention, and when the Mohammedans refused to assent to the demands of the western powers, the united French and English fleets attacked them at Navarino, and totally ruined their naval power (1827).

Russia forces the Sultan to acknowledge the independence of Greece, 1829. The sultan now saw that he must grant the Greeks their independence, but before he had made up his mind to humble himself in so conspicuous a manner, the Czar Nicholas, impatient of further delay, declared war against him (1828), invaded the Danubian provinces, and forced him to sign the Peace of Adrianople (1829). By this Treaty the

sultan granted Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia. the leading provinces of the Balkan peninsula, Christian governors, and

recognized the independence of Greece. A conference of the powers at London, held to settle the affairs of their *protégé*, determined that Greece was to be a free monarchy, and offered the crown to prince Otto of Bavaria. This Otto ruled as first king of Greece until the year 1862.

The independence of Greece was the first great victory of liberalism in Europe since the Congress of Vienna. It was destined to be the prelude of a much greater one in the old home of revolution—France.

The battle of Waterloo had for the second time brought the Bourbons back to France. But upon the second restoration, as upon the first, wise men everywhere looked with apprehension. For, unfortunately, the Bourbons and the emigrant nobles returned with all the old prejudices with which they had departed; during their long foreign residence they had, as Napoleon said, learned nothing, and forgotten nothing.

The allied monarchs themselves entertained grave doubts about the wisdom of the Bourbon restoration. In order to set the king upon the right path, they insisted, before they would leave French soil, that Louis XVIII. should pledge himself to a constitutional government. Louis XVIII., who was happily the most sensible and moderate member of the royalist party, very willingly acceded, and published a constitution (*la charte*), by which he accepted the situation created by the Revolution, and assured the people a share in the government by means of two legislative chambers, the chamber of Peers and the chamber of Deputies.

For a while the government did well enough, but when Louis XVIII. was succeeded on his death (1824) by his brother, Charles X., things rapidly went from bad to worse. Charles X., as count of Artois, had been the head of the noble emigrants, and was as much detested the people as he was idolized by the feudal party. The reign of reaction was now unchecked. Among other measures, one billion francs were voted to the

The danger of the Bourbon restoration in France.

Louis XVIII. grants a constitution.

Charles X. (1824-30) attempts to restore absolutism.

nobles to indemnify them for their losses during the revolution. Finally, it was planned to muzzle the press and gag the universities. But at this point the chamber of Deputies refused to serve the reaction further, and had to be dissolved (1830). Thereupon the prime minister, the unpopular duke of Polignac, urged the king to take by decree what he could not get by law, and on July 26, 1830, there appeared under the king's seal four ordinances, which arbitrarily limited the list of voters, and put an end to the freedom of printing. The ordinances substantially meant the abandonment by the king of legal courses, the revocation of the constitution, and the return to absolutism. Had France no answer to so monstrous an attempt?

The four ordinances of July 26 caused an immediate tumult in the capital, bands of students and workmen parading the streets and cheering the constitution. But their cheers changed soon to the more ominous cries: down with ministers! down with the Bourbons! The king was living at the time at St Cloud, and hardly raised a hand in his defence. The few troops in the city soon proved themselves inadequate to restrain the multitude, and after a number of sharp encounters withdrew into the country. For a moment it seemed that the capital was delivered over to anarchy.

In this confusion a number of prominent members of the middle class or bourgeoisie met to discuss what was to be done. They were men equally averse to tyranny, and to disorder; all that France needed and desired according to them was a *genuinely* constitutional monarchy. They therefore resolved to concur in the deposition of Charles X. and his heirs, and offer the crown to the popular head of the secondary branch of the House of Bourbon, Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans. Louis Philippe was the son of that disreputable duke of Orleans, who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., and had been guillotined by the Terror. As a young man he had served in the revolutionary army, and though he had abandoned France

in 1793, and little had been heard of him since, he was reputed to be a man of firm, liberal principles. When the self-constituted committee of the Parisian moderates waited upon him to tender him the crown, he at first feigned reluctance, but was finally persuaded to accept provisionally, until such time as the Chamber of Deputies, representing the country, had come to a final decision.

When the Chamber of Deputies assembled it immediately offered the crown to Louis Philippe. He had already appeared in the city some days before, and had, after publicly assuming the tricolour, the emblem of the Revolution, undertaken the government temporarily as lieutenant-governor. Now he hesitated no longer to take the final step; at the solicitation of the chamber, he solemnly swore to observe the constitution, and adopted the style of Louis Philippe, king of the French. This news blasted the last hopes of Charles X., and he now abandoned the kingdom. Thus France had inaugurated a new experiment in government which is named from the Orleanist dynasty, now promoted to the control of affairs.

Meanwhile the report of the July Revolution in Paris had spread abroad. Ever since the seventeenth century France had assumed in Europe the leadership in political ideas, and every action upon her public stage was watched by her neighbours with eager interest. Therefore the fall of the Bourbons and the victory of the people sent a flutter of eager hope through the peoples which had been injured and shackled by the Congress of Vienna. Evidently the time had at last come to venture a blow, and in the course of the year 1830, country after country, imitating the example set by the Parisians, raised its voice in behalf of freedom and self-government.

The most immediate stir was caused among the north-eastern neighbours of France, the Belgians, than whom perhaps no people had suffered more from the high-handed methods of the Congress of Vienna. Without even the pretence of consulting the wishes of the

*Louis
Philippe
becomes
king of the
French.*

*The July
revolution
awakens an
echo in
Europe.*

*The revolution
in
Belgium.*

inhabitants, the country of Belgium had, at Vienna, been incorporated with Holland. The kingdom of the Netherlands, as the fused states of Holland and Belgium were called, was put under the government of the ancient Dutch House of Orange, and was expected to keep a close eye, in behalf of the European peace, on the old disturber of that peace—France.

However, the union caused discomfort to the Belgians from the first. They protested against the over-lordship which Holland, the smaller partner, was exercising, and finally demanded a separate administration. When king William resisted these claims, they resolved, in August, 1830, to imitate the Parisians, and accordingly revolted. But at this point, the European powers became alarmed, and at a conference held at London resolved to interfere. Although the members of the Holy Alliance would gladly have supported the House of Orange, they had troubles of their own to attend to, and so reluctantly acceded to the proposition of France and England to grant the Belgians independence. This matter having been settled without much difficulty, the powers next approved of a Belgian congress to take into its hands the internal affairs of the country. When this congress met (November, 1830), it declared in principle for a limited monarchy, and then set about constructing an appropriate constitution. When all was done, it offered the crown to prince Leopold, of the German House of Saxe-Coburg, and Leopold actually assumed the government in 1831, with the title of king of the Belgians. It is to the credit of king Leopold (1831-65) that, although a foreigner, he should have made himself entirely acceptable to his new people, and that under his wise rule Belgium prospered, as she had not prospered since the evil day when she fell into the clutches of Spain.

The breach with the Dutch, August 1830.

Belgium made an independent kingdom.

King Leopold I., 1831-65.

As the two great central European countries, Germany and Italy, had received very ungenerous treatment at the Congress of Vienna, it might be expected that the July revolution would create a widely sympathetic move-

Germany and Italy.

ment among them. But although they enjoyed neither national unity nor freedom, and had every cause for discontent, their revolutions of 1830 were, for different reasons, most insignificant affairs.

In Germany every important development hinged, naturally, upon the action of the two great states, Prussia and Austria. But owing chiefly to the ancient habit of obedience, the people of these two states did not, in 1830, stir against their reactionary monarchs. However, in a great many of the smaller states, like Brunswick, Hanover, and Saxony, the cry was raised for a liberal constitution, and in each instance the princes had to give way, and establish a modern representative government. As the south German states, the most notable of which were Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, had, by the free act of their sovereigns, been granted liberal constitutions soon after 1815, the result of the commotions of 1830 for Germany may be summed up thus: With that year practically all the smaller German states had declared for sensible constitutional progress, Austria and Prussia, the natural leaders, alone persisting in the antiquated absolute system.

In Germany the small states become constitutional.

If in Italy there was aroused no great commotion by the July revolution, it was due to the lingering memories of the unfortunate Neapolitan insurrection of 1820, and of the armed intervention of Austria which had followed. Ever since, Metternich was keeping a close watch upon the peninsula, and holding himself ready to fall, at a moment's notice, from his vantage-point of Lombardy upon any disturber of the peace. Thus the liberals could nowhere make a successful beginning, and the total result for Italy of the revolution of 1830 was an increased hatred of the Austrians.

The Italian revolution of 1830 of no consequence.

The agitations of Germany and Italy were mere trifles compared to the great insurrection which took place in Poland. The reader will remember that at the Congress of Vienna Poland was partially restored.

Poland in 1830.

Prussia and Austria having surrendered for an adequate compensation certain of their Polish spoils to Russia, the Czar Alexander, who was a man of extremely generous disposition, and full of kindly feeling toward the unfortunate Poles, seized the opportunity, afforded by this acquisition, to re-establish, with somewhat restricted boundaries, the old kingdom of Poland. Although a despot in Russia, he gave the kingdom of Poland a constitution, and promised to rule there as a constitutional king. Under him Poland had a separate administration and its own army. This was certainly something; but unfortunately it was not enough for the proud nation, which remembered that it had been a great power when Russia, its present master, was no more than a snow-bound duchy of Muscovy.

Everywhere there were murmurs of discontent, and when the magnanimous Alexander died (1825), and was succeeded by his severe and unpopular brother, Nicholas, they swelled to ominous proportions. In November 1830, under the leadership of a few young enthusiasts, the capital, Warsaw, suddenly rose in insurrection. *The rising of 1830.* The rest of the country followed the example of the capital, and before many days had passed, the Poles were masters in their own land and had set up a provisional government at Warsaw.

If mere valour could have availed, the Poles would now have maintained their independence. But they had to face disciplined Russian armies which overwhelmingly outnumbered their own, and after a year of stiff resistance were forced to surrender. Thus the seal of fate was set upon the *finis Polonia* pronounced in the previous century.

When the Czar Nicholas again took hold, it was with the grim resolve to remove all chances of another Polish revolution.

The rising fails. He firmly believed that he had been trifled with by the Poles because he had proved himself too kind. He would not err in that way any more, and now determined that Poland should be merged with Russia as a Russian province; the very language of the Poles was to be

replaced by the Russian tongue; and their Roman Catholic faith was to make room for the Greek Orthodox Church, of which the Czar was the head. Poland now fell into a state of sad eclipse. Bound and gagged she lay at the feet of Russia; but as long as there was life, her people were determined to cling to their national memories. And they have clung to them to this day.

*Poland
definitely
absorbed by
Russia.*

CHAPTER XXXII

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

(a) THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848

LITERATURE—Debidour,	} As before.
Phillips,	
Fyffe,	
Müller,	
Seignobos,	
Andrews,	

MEANWHILE France, the country in which the revolutionary movement of 1830 had begun, was experimenting with its new Orleanist government. Clearly the success of the *Louis Philippe, the citizen-king.* venture depended, first of all, on the character of the new king and his power to conciliate the numerous opposition. And at first glance Louis Philippe, who was shrewd and well-meaning, and quite without the ancient affectations of royalty, did not seem an unsuitable man for the royal office. But his situation was extremely perilous, for France was divided into four parties, three of which could not possibly be reconciled with the reigning government. The Bonapartists, the Bourbonists (or Legitimists), and the Republicans, although differing radically among themselves, existed by virtue of governmental principles which were antagonistic to the Orleanist dynasty, and so there remained nothing for Louis Philippe to do but to identify himself with the party of quiet Constitutionalists which recruited its numbers from the well-to-do middle class or bourgeoisie. By that step, however, he declared himself not the head of the

country, but the head of a party, and gave an undeniable basis to the derisive sobriquet of *roi-bourgeois* (citizen-king) fixed upon him by the opposition.

And there was another and unexpected reason why this championship of the capitalist middle class was likely to prove threatening. As is well known, the most important social fact of the nineteenth century is its industrial development. The growth of manufactures has drawn together in the cities vast aggregations of workmen, and the growth of intelligence has led these workmen to combine in trades-unions and political parties, and to demand increasing social and political benefits. The result has been the conflict of capital and labour, for which we have found no solution to this day. Now, at the time of Louis Philippe this conflict was just beginning, and the phenomenon being new, his government was thoroughly dismayed by it. What was to be made of the enthusiasts called socialists who were advancing all kinds of humane but dangerous programmes? That Louis Philippe should have treated these people with harshness is not particularly strange, but he ought to have considered that he was thereby alienating from his dynasty the whole working population of France, and turning them over to the Republicans.

*Growth of
the in-
dustrial
classes.*

Because of the natural preference of Louis Philippe for the middle class, the whole period of his government (1830-48) has been called the reign of the bourgeoisie. And most of the prominent advisers of the king were men of that estate. Their programme, as is usual with persons of the thriving middle class, had, on the whole, an honest, virtuous character, but was disfigured by occasional narrow prejudices. The leading men of the Chamber of Deputies were Guizot and Thiers, distinguished alike in their day for their literary labours, and filled equally with eager patriotic zeal. They became determined rivals, dividing the Chamber between them, and occupying in turn the chief place in the ministry. Both were equally resolute in standing by Louis Philippe and in fighting the plots of the Legitimists, the

*Guizot and
Thiers, the
king's ad-
visers.*

Bonapartists, and the Republicans, but they fell out over the important question of the enlargement of the voting body, which became more prominent every year, and finally caused a new revolution.

Now the franchise situation was anomalous and stood as follows: among a population of 30,000,000, there were, owing to a high property qualification, only 200,000 voters.

The question of the extension of the suffrage.

The discontent of the masses at so absurd a situation was rapidly becoming ominous. Thiers, having a warmer feeling for the people than most Orleanists, proposed in the chambers again and again an extension of the suffrage. Guizot, who in the year 1848 was prime minister, and narrow-minded in proportion to his respectability, would not even listen to the new demands. Thiers and his friends thereupon resolved to stir up public opinion, and so force the minister's hand. They held political meetings, coupled with banquets, all over the country, and set February 22, 1848, for a so-called Reform Banquet in Paris. When its arrangements were interfered with by the police, the meeting was given up, but the great crowd which had gathered for the celebration thereupon took to parading the streets and shouting for the deposition of Guizot.

The next day (February 23), the king dismissed the ministry and made an effort to conciliate the opposition, but a company

The breakdown of the Orleanist monarchy, February, 1848.

of soldiers having fired at the mob, killing and wounding some fifty men, caused the passions of the people to flame up anew. Houses were sacked and the palace of the Tuileries surrounded by armed men. Finally, on February 24, Louis Philippe, convinced that discretion was the better part of valour, fled from his capital to take refuge, as Charles X. had done eighteen years before, in England.

The cause of monarchy might yet have been saved if the deputies, among whom the Constitutionalists had a clear majority, had stood their ground like men, and proclaimed the succession of the young grandson of Louis Philippe, the count of Paris. But when the rioters broke into the parlia-

mentary hall, the frightened members surrendered the field, and sought safety in flight. Thus the rabble, with the poet Lamartine at its head, found itself master of the situation. Spurred on to act with promptness, it declared for a republic, and appointed a provisional government of which Lamartine became the moving spirit.

*A republic
with a pro-
visional
government.*

Thus on February 24, 1848, the republicans had won the day. But they were far from being a unanimous party, for the socialists formed an important wing of the republican section, and that they were not going to permit themselves to be simply merged with the majority appeared from the first. They secured a representation in the provisional government, and straightway demanded the proclamation of their utopian programme. The provisional government had to give in so far as to proclaim the so-called "right to labour" and to establish "national workshops," where the unemployed of Paris were guaranteed a living in the service of the state.

*The socialist
demands.*

Meanwhile elections had been ordered for a National Assembly to settle in detail the forms of the new republic. It met at the beginning of May, 1848, and straightway taking the control into its own hands, dismissed Lamartine's provisional government.

*Republicans
vs.
Socialists.*

Being composed largely of solid, order-loving republicans from the country, the Assembly was imbued with the strongest antipathy toward the socialist city faction, which aspired to manage the state. Sternly it made ready to put an end to the prevalent confusion, and win Paris back to the principles of law and decency. Great masses of troops were concentrated in the city; then the most virulent of the disturbers were put under lock and key; finally (June), the Assembly attacked the root of all the difficulties, and dissolved the "national workshops."

At this juncture the socialists barricaded themselves in their quarters, and for four days (June 23 to 26) made a heroic stand against the troops under General Cavaignac, who in

this crisis had been appointed dictator. Never had Paris, accustomed as it was to rioting, witnessed street-fights of such dimensions as it witnessed now: the socialists were not put down until ten thousand men had been stretched dead or wounded upon the pavements.

*The social-
ists over-
thrown,
June, 1848.*

The National Assembly, now at last in unquestioned authority, turned next to its business of making a republican constitution. It voted that the legislative function should be entrusted to a single chamber, elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and it assigned the executive to a president, elected directly by the people for a period of four years. When the constitution prepared on the above lines was ready, the Assembly ordered the presidential election (December 10, 1848). To the surprise of Europe, Cavaignac, who had been most in sight during the previous months, received only a small proportion of the votes; the vast majority of ballots were cast for prince Louis Napoleon.

*The new
republican
constitution.*

*Louis Napo-
leon, presi-
dent.*

Prince Louis Napoleon was the nephew of the great Napoleon and the heir of the Napoleonic traditions. His life had been largely spent in banishment, but the revolution of 1848 had built a bridge for his return. If he now won an astonishing victory at the polls, that was not due to any known virtues of his own, but solely to the prestige of his famous uncle. However, the election victory of the imperial pretender clearly revealed, that although France had a republican constitution, a large majority of her people were still attached to the principles of monarchy.

*Danger
lurking in
the election
of Prince
Napoleon.*

(b) THE GERMAN, AUSTRIAN, AND ITALIAN REVOLUTIONS
OF 1848

LITERATURE.—Fyffe,

Müller,	} As before.
Seignobos,	
Andrews,	
Phillips,	
Debidour,	

Thayer, *Dawn of Italian Independence.*Cesaresco, *The Liberation of Italy.*Stillman, *The Union of Italy* (1815-1895).Cossa, *Political Economy.*Leger, *Histoire de l'Autriche-Hongrie* (trans.).Maurice, *The Revolutionary Movement of 1848-49 in Italy, Austria, and Hungary.*

FROM 1830 to 1848, Germany and Italy, divided and impotent, were delivered over to reactionary influences. But because the liberal and national spirit, fostered by the poets and writers, had been steadily growing, the news of the Paris Revolution of 1848 straightway set both eastern neighbours of France on fire.

Central Europe prepared to follow the example set by France.

In Germany, the month of March saw revolutions everywhere. These revolutions were of special importance at Vienna and Berlin, capitals respectively of Austria and Prussia, for by means of the movements in these two cities absolutism was abolished and constitutionalism established in its place. Thus the liberal party had suddenly realized one half of its programme—the victory of constitutionalism; no wonder that it now gave its attention to the other half—national unity. That Germany must be united became the resolution of all the progressive elements, and in order to establish that unity there was now called together a general German Parliament.

The triumph of constitutionalism at Vienna and Berlin, March, 1848.

Desire for unity: the German Parliament.

The German Parliament, elected by universal suffrage, met

in May, 1848, at Frankfurt-on-the-Main. It was composed in large part of the most distinguished men of the land, and was animated by a generous zeal for German unity. But intelligence and zeal alone do not suffice for lasting performances; what heart and mind conceive, force must realize. Thus the great question before the German Parliament was not so much: would it prove itself *wise* enough, but rather would it have the *force* to effect the changes which it was about to advocate; in other words, could it make good the claim which it was putting forward of being the sovereign body in Germany?

For the first few months the German Parliament experienced no difficulties, and even the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia seemed to have resigned their sovereign rights to the democratic body sitting at Frankfurt. But suppose the case that, on the lessening of the popular pressure at Vienna and Berlin, one or the other of the great monarchs refused to accept a decree forwarded from the Parliament—what then? There would then be a conflict of authorities which would furnish a test of the relative strength of the new national assembly and the old state governments.

The test was offered, and that soon enough, by the Schleswig-Holstein complication. The two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein occupy the southern half of the peninsula of Jutland, and are inhabited for the most part by a German-speaking people. They were at that time united with Denmark in a personal union, that is, their duke was also king of Denmark; but they lived, in spite of that fact, under their own laws, of the observance of which by the king of Denmark they were exceedingly jealous. Now it had lately become apparent that the Danish royal house would soon die out in the male line. The Danish law provided that, in such an event, the crown should pass to the female line; by the law of the duchies, however, the succession to Schleswig-Holstein would fall to a secondary male branch.

In fear of this separation, the king of Denmark published for Schleswig-Holstein, in the year 1846, a new law of succession, by virtue of which the union of Denmark and the duchies was secured for all time. The disaffection aroused thereby throughout the duchies was general, and in 1848 the Schleswig-Holsteiners, encouraged by the general confusion in Europe, boldly cast off the Danish yoke. Since as Germans they appealed to the Parliament at Frankfurt for help, that body, claiming to represent the German name, could not remain deaf to their cries. It ordered Prussia and some other states of the north to march their troops into the duchies, and in the name of Germany drive the Danes out. That feat was soon accomplished, for the Danes are not a powerful nation; but the Danes took revenge by destroying the Prussian shipping of the Baltic. This the king of Prussia stood for a while, but when in the course of the summer it seemed to him that the tide of revolution in Germany was running lower, he took heart, and, without consulting the German Parliament, signed the Convention of Malmö with the Danes, which practically delivered the brave Schleswig-Holsteiners over to their Danish masters (August 26, 1848). When the Parliament heard of this act it was furious against the disobedient king. There was talk for a time of civil war; but the talk subsided very quickly, and, on second thoughts, the Parliament endorsed everything which Prussia had done. The long and short of the situation was that Prussia had an army and the Parliament had not. But Prussia having by this occurrence discovered the essential impotence of the Parliament, would not the other governments before long discover it too? In fact, the local governments began gradually to pick up courage, and as early as September, 1848, it was plain that the national Parliament at Frankfurt was a beautiful illusion.

*The revolt
of the
duchies,
1848.*

*The Parlia-
ment helps.*

*Prussia
makes a
separate
peace,
August,
1848.*

*The Parlia-
ment yields
to Prussia.*

While the local revolutions, the national Parliament at Frankfurt, and the Schleswig-Holstein war were engaging the

attention of Germany, Italy was stirred from Sicily to the Alps by a similar political movement, for at the first news of the revolution at Vienna, Milan and Venice had risen against the Austrians, driven out the troops, and declared for independence (March, 1848). Then they had set up provisional governments and called upon Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, and the other Italian governments to come to their help against the foreign tyrants. As the revolutionary fever had already seized Tuscany, Rome, Sicily, and the other states, and the liberal spirit was everywhere triumphant, assistance was freely promised from all sides, and in the spring of 1848 Italian troops, contributed by all the provinces of the peninsula, converged in long lines upon the middle course of the Po. The expected war of all Italy against the Austrian oppressor was at length engaged.

Of the motley Italian army thus hurriedly mobilized to assist the Lombards and Venetians, Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, assumed the command. The fact that he was the head of the house of Savoy, the oldest ruling family of Italy, and that he had expressed his sympathy with the constitutional and national aspirations of his countrymen, pointed him out to all Italians as their natural leader. But when the clash came at Custozza on July 25, 1848, the Austrians won, scattered the Italian forces, and straightway re-entered Milan. Sick at heart, Charles Albert now abdicated, and was succeeded by his son, the famous Victor Emmanuel II. (March, 1849). When young Victor Emmanuel professed his willingness to sign a peace, Austria, harassed sufficiently in other quarters, made no objections. By the terms of the peace agreement the defeated monarch of Sardinia-Piedmont paid a money-fine to Austria, but did not lose a foot of territory.

Before that document was signed, Austria had already re-established her hold on Lombardy, and now, after a brave resistance on the part of the people, she put her yoke

on Venice as well. Thus, only a little over a year after the hopeful rising of March, 1848, the Austrian soldiers had again laid the Italian north at their feet. But to the Italians the war had nevertheless brought a benefit. Through stinging disaster they had learned the lesson that they must stand shoulder to shoulder if their righteous cause was ever to triumph; and they had become persuaded by a comradeship of arms, no less sacred because disastrous, that the house of Savoy was their natural point of union.

*Lombardy
and Venice
reconquered.*

While Sardinia was fighting a futile battle for Milan and Venice in the north, the states of the centre and south, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples, had also been shaken by revolutions. Everywhere, the liberals had been successful for a while, but when the Austrians had triumphed in the north, the reaction thus begun, perforce affected the south and swiftly brought back all the old petty despots. In Rome alone did this game of revolution and reaction assume a form that makes it worth attending to.

*Liberal in-
terlude in
the centre
and south
followed by
reaction.*

In the year 1848, Pius IX., a very earnest and able man, who had won the favour of his subjects by a number of generous measures, was sovereign Pontiff and lord of the States of the Church. He sympathized somewhat with the liberal party, and on the first stirrings of the revolution granted his people a constitution. Only when it came to joining in the national war with the rest of Italy against Austria did he call a halt. A universal pope, he argued, leading Christians to be slaughtered by other Christians was a ludicrous and impossible figure. On the other hand, the Romans generally maintained, and with as much show of reason, that an Italian prince who contributed nothing to the overthrow of the tyrants of Italy was no better than a traitor. Now it was that the pope began to experience the calamity of his double position as a spiritual and a temporal ruler. In his dilemma he adopted contradictory measures; but the Romans, who wished passionately to help their

*The pope,
Pius IX.,
between two
fires.*

Lombard brethren against Austria, grew so dangerously restless that Pius IX. finally fled from the city, and took refuge at Gaeta, on Neapolitan soil (November 24, 1848). Thereupon Rome fell completely into the hands of the revolutionists under the leadership of the famous agitator Mazzini, and at Mazzini's instigation, the pope was declared to have forfeited his temporal dignities, and the papal dominions were on February 9, 1849, proclaimed a republic.

Mazzini's new Roman republic never had any real chance of establishing itself. Roman Catholic peoples all the world over were horrified at its treatment of the Holy Father, and Louis Napoleon, the new president of the French republic, was delighted at the opportunity offered by the Roman events to curry favour with the Roman Catholic clergy and peasantry of France. In March the Piedmontese were defeated by the Austrians at Novara, and in April Napoleon sent an army to Rome to sweep Mazzini and his republicans out of the city. General Garibaldi, who had been made commander-in-chief, made a gallant fight, but in the end had to give way to numbers. In July, 1849, the French entered the conquered city, the old papal rule was re-established, and a few months later the hated pope himself returned to the Vatican.

But while the reaction was winning these victories in Italy it was making ready to celebrate great triumphs also in Germany and Austria. And first as to Austria. In the spring of 1848, Austria, that empire of many races, seemed likely to fall into disruption, for hardly had the Germans revolted at Vienna, when all the other Austrian peoples followed suit. In a few weeks there were separate revolutions among the Slavs (Czechs) at Prague; among the Hungarians at Budapest, and among the Italians at Milan and Venice; Austria seemed destined to fall into four independent states corresponding to the four leading races of which she was made up. If that dissolution did not

actually occur in 1848, it is due solely to one institution—the Austrian army. During all the disturbances the army held loyally together under its natural head, the emperor, and gradually restored quiet.

Salvation depends on the army.

The army first put down the revolution of the riotous Slavs at Prague, and then the revolution of the Germans at Vienna. This was comparatively easy work, real difficulties arising only when the army approached the problem of reducing to order the Italians and Hungarians. However, when, at Custozza, the submission of the Italians, too, had been secured (July 25, 1848), the government and army could concentrate their attention upon Budapest.

The army reduces the Czechs, the Germans, and the Italians in quick order.

Although the Hungarians had bowed for centuries to the yoke of the Hapsburgs, they had never lost their proud independent spirit. Under their leader, Louis Kossuth, they had now, in the summer of 1848, made themselves as good as independent. They did not object to a ruler of the house of Hapsburg, but they wished to be free of the connection with the other parts of the many-tongued empire. As the programme of the emperor and his ministry was, in sharp contrast to the Hungarian idea, the maintenance of the indivisible Hapsburg realm, an Austrian general moved in the winter to Hungary at the head of 100,000 troops.

The Hungarians desire home rule.

The Hungarians fought splendidly for their freedom, and at first actually drove the Austrians back; but Kossuth, over-
elated at his success, made the mistake of proclaiming Hungary independent (April, 1849), and immediately the Czar Nicholas, in alarm at the progress of the democratic spirit at his very border, offered to assist his brother of Austria with a flank attack. In the summer the Austrians from

Russia and Austria check the Hungarian rebellion, August, 1849.

the west and the Russians from the east caught the Hungarians between them and quickly made an end of their resistance, and at Vilagos Górgéii with all his army capitulated (August, 1849). Hungary, broken in spirit and resources, stolidly reassumed the Austrian yoke.

As for Austria, she had, after a year of terrible commotions, successively subdued the revolution among her Slav, her German, her Italian, and her Hungarian subjects, and was now again a great power under the absolute government of her young emperor, Francis Joseph, who had only just succeeded his uncle, Ferdinand, on the throne (December, 1848).

The victory of the reaction in Austria was sure to affect greatly the affairs of Prussia and Germany, for just as revolution begot revolution, so reaction begot reaction. Hardly, therefore, had the reaction begun to triumph in Austria, before Frederick William IV. of Prussia dismissed the Prussian Diet at Berlin, which was at work making a constitution for the kingdom. However, Frederick William showed some moderation. Of his own free will he presented the people, in February, 1849, with a constitution, and although it was not as democratic as could have been wished, it at least secured the Prussian people a share in the government. Revolution was thus put down in Prussia as elsewhere, but here, almost alone, the king had been wise enough to accept the more moderate popular demands.

We left the German Parliament at Frankfurt at the time of its first great discomfiture, in the matter of the Schleswig-Holstein war (September, 1848). That difficulty had proved that the Parliament could not exact obedience from a great state like Prussia. But if that was the case before the triumph of the governments at Vienna and Berlin over the revolutionists, how would matters stand after these governments had recovered their strength?

Although the members of the Parliament were themselves bitterly conscious that their power was waning, they kept bravely to the task for which they had been called together. In the course of the winter (1848-49) they completed their constitution for united Germany; there now remained only the difficult matter of finding a head for the new constitution—an emperor,

for which honour the choice naturally lay between the two greatest German princes, the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia. The question of their respective merits was hotly debated, but the fact that Prussia was more of a German state than disjointed Austria, finally won a majority for Frederick William IV. When, however, a deputation from the Parliament waited upon the king to offer him the crown of Germany, he refused to accept it, first, because of its democratic origin, and secondly, because of the threat of Austria that she would make war rather than see Prussia assume the headship of Germany.

*The crown
refused
(April,
1849).*

The refusal naturally annihilated the Parliament. There were a few final convulsions of the revolutionary monster here and there, and then there was quiet. Fate seemed to have decided that there should be no united

*The Bund
again.*

Germany. From this time the rivalry of Austria and Prussia becomes more than ever apparent. The small states looked to Prussia for protection, while Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg supported Austria. For a time, however, the court of Vienna was in the ascendant. Taking advantage of the feeling of resignation which seized upon the land, Austria now proposed to the governments to reinstate the old ludicrous *Bund*, i.e. the Federal Constitution of 1815, which the events of 1848 had swept out of existence. The *Bund*, with its Diet, in which the various government delegates met, talked, and decided nothing, seemed the best thing Germany was capable of.

In this general collapse of German hopes and illusions the Schleswig-Holsteiners, who had built their revolution on the prospect of a united Germany, could not escape disaster. Abandoned by Prussia in August, 1848, they continued to fight manfully against the Danes for their freedom. In April 1849 Prussia renewed its war with Denmark, which was continued till 1850. Finally, Russia and England were moved to interfere. They called a conference of the powers at London (1850), which determined

*Schleswig
and Hol-
stein
crushed.*

that the unruly duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were to be inseparably connected with the Danish crown. Outwardly the duchies now bowed to the inevitable, but an inner acceptance of the unjust decree no amount of pressure could wring out of them. It was evident that they would rise again at a more auspicious moment.

With the German Parliament dissolved, the Schleswig-Holsteiners delivered over to the Danes, the *Bund* reconstituted at Frankfurt, and the Convention of Olmütz signed by Austria and Prussia, it seemed, *Another reign of reaction.* in the year 1851, that the Metternichian era had come again. The patriots were filled with despair. But as far as they were thoughtful men, they must have made this observation: the movement of 1848 had failed because it was a merely popular action, which took no account of the established authorities. The established authorities had, therefore, been its enemy, and had ruined it. If, in the future, the governments themselves would take up the national movement, and direct it into sensible channels, would there not then be more chance of success?

CHAPTER XXXIII

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON III.—THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY.

LITERATURE.—Fyffe, Müller, Seignobos, Andrews, Phillips (as before).

Stillman, *Union of Italy* (1815-95).

Cesaresco, *Cavour*.

Mazade, *Cavour*.

Simpson, *Napoleon III. and the Recovery of France*.

Guedalla, *The Second Empire*.

Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy, Garibaldi and the Thousand*.

F. Harrison, *Cavour*.

PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON, on being elected to the presidency of the French Republic (December, 1848), justified very quickly the suspicions entertained against him. One of his first acts was to put down, with French troops, the Roman Republic of Mazzini and Garibaldi (June, 1849). Republics evidently were not his hobby. He then systematically undermined the constitution, and when everything was ready, he overthrew it on December 2, 1851, by a *coup d'état*. Shortly after he gave the country of his own gift a new and strongly monarchical constitution, and exactly a year after the *coup d'état*, on December 2, 1852, he assumed the title of Emperor Napoleon III. The new constitution assured a share in the government to a senate and a legislative body, but the share was hardly more than nominal.

The Napoleonic propaganda.

The coup d'état of December 2, 1851.

A Napoleonic empire could only be maintained by military successes which flattered the vanity of the French people. So at least Napoleon argued, and directed in consequence all the efforts of his reign toward attempts at harvesting what is ordinarily called "glory." These attempts won him at first an enviable position; they

Napoleon's policy of adventure.

ended by plunging him and his country into defeat and misery.

The first opening for Napoleon's policy of adventure was offered in the east. The Czar Nicholas had lately made the somewhat obvious discovery that the sultan was "a sick man." Being convinced that he, Nicholas, was the sultan's natural heir, he held it to be a piece of unnecessary politeness to wait for the "sick man's" death before he took possession of the heritage, and suddenly demanded of the sultan to be recognized as the protector of all the Greek-Christians resident in Turkey. When the sultan refused, Nicholas invaded Moldavia (June, 1853). Europe being filled with indignation at this high-handed measure, England and France joined hands and presented a solemn protest to the Czar. When Russia gave no heed to the joint remonstrance, the two western powers made an alliance with Turkey, and declared war (March, 1854).

The Russian campaign of 1854 was a complete failure. Their attack on the Danubian fortresses was repulsed by the Turks, and in June, under pressure from Austria, they retired from the invaded territory. When the French and English arrived upon the scene, they resolved to attack the great Russian stronghold in the Crimea, Sebastopol. But unfortunately for the western powers the capture proved no easy matter. Sebastopol, admirably defended by the Russians, was taken only after a siege which lasted a whole year, and is one of the most memorable events of the kind in history. But the final surrender of Sebastopol in September, 1855, thoroughly discouraged the Russians. As the warlike Nicholas had died in March of the same year, and been suc-

ceeded by his son, Alexander II. (1855-81), there was now no further obstacle to peace. At a Congress held at Paris, Russia, in exchange for Sebastopol, gave up her pretensions in Turkey, the Black Sea was declared neutral,¹ and the sultan was received among the great powers and solemnly guaranteed against interference from without (March, 1856).

¹ Repudiated by Russia in 1870.

The Peace of Paris, dictated by Napoleon in his own capital, won for the empire the place of first power in Europe. But Napoleon was not satisfied. Attracted by the prospect of a military glory still greater than that won in the Crimea, he now began to turn his attention to Italy.

Napoleon turns to new enterprises.

A welcome excuse for interesting himself in the affairs of the transalpine peninsula was furnished Napoleon by the fact that Sardinia-Piedmont, the largest native state of Italy, had voluntarily sought his friendship and alliance. Since the War of 1848, king Victor Emmanuel was firmly held by all Italians to be the future unifier of Italy. The practical question before the recognized champion of Italy was: what measures would speed the liberation of his country? Luckily Victor Emmanuel found a gifted adviser in count Cavour, and under Cavour's guidance, Sardinia entered, about the middle of the century, upon a policy which led finally to the complete gratification of the national desires.

Policy of Victor Emmanuel and Cavour.

Cavour argued simply that the leading obstacle to Italian unity was Austria—Austria, which held Lombardy and Venice, and dictated her policy to all the little tyrannical princes of the peninsula. Alone Sardinia could not defeat the Danubian empire; the year 1848 had proved that. It was therefore necessary to find an ally for the inevitable future war. Cautiously Cavour sought the friendship of Napoleon, and in the year 1858 signed with him a close alliance, known as the Compact of Plombières. When Austria, guessing the purport of the alliance, ordered Sardinia to disarm, and on her prompt refusal entered her territory, the war which Cavour so ardently desired broke out (April, 1859).

Alliance of Sardinia and France against Austria.

The real campaign did not begin till May 1859, and then was over in a few weeks. By the two great victories of Magenta and Solferino, the French and the Sardinians drove the Austrians back from the Lombard plain into their strongholds. Italy was ablaze with bonfires;

The Italian war of 1859.

Napoleon evoked, wherever he appeared, a boundless enthusiasm. But just as everybody was expecting that he would now finish the good work by driving the Austrians completely across the Alps, he suddenly turned round, and, without consulting the Sardinians, signed a truce at Villa Franca (July 11) with the enemy. To this step he was urged by a variety of considerations. First, the Italian situation, with the Italians themselves loudly clamouring for unification, was full of danger, and secondly, Prussia had mobilised and was threatening to attack France on the Rhine.

Sardinia acquires Lombardy. Everything considered, Napoleon judged that he had better be satisfied with the glory gained and retire. Cavour resigned and Victor Emmanuel was furious, but what could he do? In the peace that followed (November 1859), he got Lombardy as his share in the victory, but had to leave Venetia in the hands of the Austrians. Napoleon, in return for the French assistance, obtained from Sardinia the cession of Nice and Savoy (by a Treaty signed on March 24, 1860).

But the first step in the unification of Italy had been taken. In a few months the Italian duchies, Tuscany, Parma and Modena, joined Sardinia, and in January 1860 Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, with the north in their hands, now considered themselves strong enough to do something on their own account, and secretly permitted General Garibaldi, the bold leader of volunteers, to fit out a small expedition for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. In May, 1860, Garibaldi proceeded by sea, with an escort of only 1000 men, to Sicily, where in April an insurrection had broken out. The island was conquered at a rush; Garibaldi, the liberator, had only to appear, and the tyrannical government of the Bourbon king of Naples, whom everybody hated, fell to pieces. In September, he entered the city of Naples, and the Bourbon king, Francis II., having fled from his capital, was declared deposed and his country annexed to Sardinia. At the same time, the unrest in

Garibaldi conquers Sicily and Naples, 1860.

The States of the Church, except Rome, declare for Sardinia.

Naples had spread to Umbria and the marches and the situation became critical. To anticipate Garibaldi Cavour and the Piedmontese troops invaded the Papal States, which in three weeks were in the hands of Victor Emmanuel. On October 26 the king met Garibaldi at Teano.

Italy was now complete but for Venetia in the north-east, held by Austria, and Rome, in the centre, held by the pope with the assistance of the French. For Garibaldi to attack either of these two provinces meant a declaration of war against a great power, and Victor Emmanuel and Cavour wisely decided that they were not yet ready for such an undertaking. They therefore resolved to consolidate first what they had got, and bide their time. Accordingly, in February, 1861, there met at Turin, the capital of Piedmont, the first general Italian Parliament. It was a proud moment for Italy when the king¹ in his opening speech recounted the auspicious events of the past years, and then, in obedience to the wishes of the Parliament, assumed the style of king of Italy.

Victor Emmanuel becomes king of Italy, 1861.

Of course the hot-blooded Garibaldi, backed by a considerable party of patriots, urged the government to take Rome and Venice by an immediate war. But the king and his minister Cavour would not hear of this advice, and even after the king's great councillor had died (June 1861) Victor Emmanuel clung to a waiting policy. And in the end it bore its fruits.

The king adopts a waiting policy.

In the year 1866 there broke out the long threatening war between the two German powers, Austria and Prussia. That was a legitimate opportunity for Italy, and Italy and Prussia straightway formed a close alliance, and together proceeded to attack Austria from the north and south. Although the Italian part of the joint campaign was very unfortunate, the Italian army being defeated at Custozza (June), and the Italian fleet even more signally off Lissa, in the Adriatic (July), the great Prussian victory of Sadowa made good these Italian calamities, and forced Austria to accept the terms submitted by the allies. Venetia, the last

The war of 1866.

Austrian foothold south of the Alps, accordingly became a
Italy acquires part of Italy, and in November, 1866, Victor
Venice.

Emmanuel made his triumphal entry into the
 - City of the Lagoons.

Rome alone now remained to be won. And if the Romans
Italy ac- had been left free to choose, there is no doubt what
quires course they would have pursued. But Napoleon's
Rome, 1870. troops held the city for the pope, and neither the
 Romans nor Victor Emmanuel dared encourage a revolution
 in the papal capital out of fear of provoking a French war.
 At length patience, here as in the case of Venice, brought the
 due reward. On the outbreak, in 1870, of the great Franco-
 German War, Napoleon saw himself reduced to the necessity
 of recalling his Roman troops in order to put them into the
 field against Germany. Immediately Victor Emmanuel, dis-
 embarrassed of the French, marched his army to the gates of
 Rome, and seized the city (September, 1870). The pope
 protested clamorously, but in spite of his uncompromising
 attitude was not disturbed by the victorious Italians in his
 quarter of the Vatican. There he has since resided, but the
 glorious City of the Seven Hills, definitely lost to him, became,
 as the great majority of the nation ardently desired, the
 capital of the reborn Italian state.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

- LITERATURE. — Fyffe, Müller, Seignobos, Andrews, Phillips, Debinour, Cambridge Modern History, Lavissee and Rambaud.
Von Sybel, *Founding of the German Empire under William I.*
Headlam, *Bismarck (Heroes of the Nations)*.
Oncken, *Das Zeitalter des Kaisers Wilhelm*.
H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*
Lowe, *Prince Bismarck*.
Busch, *Our Chancellor*.
Bismarck, *Reminiscences*.
C. G. Robertson, *Bismarck*.
W. H. Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany*.
G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la France Contemporaine*.

THE year 1848 had not passed over Germany without result. It was a real gain, for instance, that Prussia, by acquiring a constitution (1849), had confirmed the principle of constitutionalism in Germany, and it was a cause for congratulation that the national spirit had, at least for a moment, commanded all hearts. But it was also undeniable that the national aspirations would have to be realized by more practical measures than the paper resolutions of the popular Parliament at Frankfurt; they would have to be realized by an organized force. So at least argued William of Prussia, who in the year 1858 succeeded¹ his brother, Frederick William IV.

William was a practical, soldierly gentleman, quite the opposite of his romantic, ineffective brother, and had hardly arrived at power when he resolved to create a strong army. But in his attempt to fashion a strong army, the sovereign stumbled upon an obstacle. The liberal majority in the Prussian Diet

*The lesson
of the year
1848.*

*William
builds his
plans on a
strong
army.*

¹ William was at first only regent for his brother; he became king in 1861.

objected to the army expenditures, refused to authorize them, and thus created a sharp conflict between the king and the legislature. But the king was a soldier without fear; the reform which he knew to be good he was determined to carry out in spite of his Diet, and, therefore, in the year 1862, he called to his support as prime-minister a resolute adherent of royalty, Otto von Bismarck.

Trouble between king and legislature. This naturally did not improve the relations of king and legislature, and things were going from bad to worse, when there occurred a number of events which drew the attention of the people away from internal affairs.

In the year 1863 king Frederick VII. of Denmark died and was succeeded, with the acquiescence of all the European powers, by his relative, Christian IX. Christian IX. was at first recognized in Schleswig-Holstein also, but when he ventured to publish a constitution, by which he incorporated the northernmost duchy, Schleswig, directly with Denmark, he was straightway repudiated by the whole German population of the two provinces. Of course all Germany was greatly agitated in behalf of its Schleswig-Holstein brothers, and, as in 1848, threatened a national war against Denmark.

The second revolution of Schleswig-Holstein, 1863. Taking advantage of the situation Bismarck now persuaded Austria to associate herself with Prussia, in order that the Danish difficulty might be settled in an orderly way. Accordingly, in January, 1864, Prussian and Austrian troops entered the duchies side by side. In a quick campaign Denmark was disarmed, and in October she saw herself reduced to the necessity of ceding Schleswig and Holstein to the victors.

Now that Prussia and Austria possessed the duchies, the question was how to divide the spoils. Of course the division turned out, to Bismarck's great delight, a difficult matter. Austria not being willing to give up her position in Germany, the Prussian prime-minister had long been planning to make her give it up by force, and here was the Schleswig-Holstein

Bismarck quarrels with Austria over the division of Schleswig-Holstein.

booty, the very matter over which to pick a plausible quarrel. Finally, in the spring of 1866, Prussia signed a close alliance with Italy, while Austria, for her part, sought the support of the smaller German states.

These dispositions made—Prussia having secured the support of Italy, and Austria the alliance of Bavaria, Saxony, and most of the other German states—in June, 1866, the two apparently well-matched combatants took the field. The contest was the culmination of the rivalry, inaugurated over a hundred years ago, at the time of Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa; the prize of the winner was to be the supremacy in Germany.

Now it was seen that king William's plan of a strong and modern army had its merits. The Prussians were ready sooner than the Austrians, and showed themselves to be much better armed and disciplined. By the admirable arrangements of the great strategist, Moltke, three Prussian columns were made to converge upon the Austrians at Sadowa (Königgrätz), in Bohemia, on July 3, and inflicted on them a severe defeat. The war had hardly begun when it was over. It was of little consequence that the Austrians in Italy defeated the Italians at Custozza or that the Prussians defeated the South Germans. Austria proper lay at the feet of Prussia, and had to make peace. A truce in July was followed in August, 1866, by the definitive Peace of Prague.

By the Peace of Prague Austria accepted her exclusion from Germany, and agreed to any reconstruction of Germany which Prussia should carry out. Territorially she was not heavily punished: she had to cede Venetia to Italy and her share in Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. These arrangements made, Bismarck proceeded to make peace with the German allies of Austria. Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and the South German states in general were let off with a money fine, but most of the hostile North German states, as for example, Hanover and Nassau, were incorporated with Prussia.

Then Bismarck proceeded to replace the old *Bund* by an

*Meaning of
the war of
1866.*

*Sadowa,
July 3.*

*Prussia
makes
peace with
Austria and
the South
German
states.*

effective central government, and formed among the states north of the river Main, the North German Confederation, with Prussia at its head. With wise moderation, he made no effort to force the South German states into the new union; they were, for the most part, Roman Catholic and opposed to Protestant Prussia; and they had just been defeated in a civil war. From 1866 to 1870, Germany, therefore, consisted of two distinct parts—a strong united north under the leadership of Prussia, and a feeble south of the four detached states, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse. Then there happened something which spontaneously brought the two parts together, and completed the unification of Germany: France declared war and threatened Germany with invasion.

We left the emperor Napoleon last in the Italian campaign of 1859. That campaign marks the zenith of his life, for after 1859 he no longer prospered. His occupation of Rome lost him his popularity among the Italians. Then in an evil hour he turned his desires upon the New World. He was led to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico, and finding that that republic made but a feeble resistance, he overturned it, and set up an empire under the archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria (1863). But the Monroe Doctrine, cherished by all Americans, had been flagrantly set aside by the French invasion, and as soon as the Civil War, which was then embarrassing the United States, was over, secretary Seward gave Napoleon to understand that he must withdraw immediately. Napoleon hesitated, but in the end did not have the courage to refuse. The French sailed for Europe, and Maximilian, deserted by his allies, was captured and shot (1867). Thereupon the Mexicans re-established their republic.

The shame of this disgraceful ending was not the worst feature about the Mexican adventure. Owing to the absence of the best French troops in the New World, the emperor Napoleon could exercise no influence on the issue of the

Austro-Prussian war of 1866. Thus it happened that Prussia came out of the war with a greatly increased territory, but France won from the embarrassment of the German powers nothing whatever. The French emperor's demands for compensations had been refused by Bismarck, and thereupon Napoleon demanded the cession of Luxemburg. But the indignation of the German states at the idea of such a union was extreme, and eventually a conference of the Powers met in London in 1867 and Luxemburg was declared neutral territory. Now the French having for centuries entertained the hope of extending their territory to the Rhine, were angry with Napoleon for having missed the opportunity offered by the Austro-Prussian war to gain that end. More and more passionately public opinion began to clamour for some territorial increase to offset the growth of Prussia. Consequently the relations between France and Prussia became gradually worse. A little incident sufficed to precipitate war.

*France
grows jealous
of
Prussia.*

The Spanish throne happening in the year 1870 to be vacant, the Cortes—that is, the Spanish Parliament—offered the throne to prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. As this prince was a relative of king William of Prussia, the candidature caused great excitement at Paris. Largely on this account, Leopold withdrew; but Napoleon, not satisfied with the withdrawal pure and simple, wanted a promise that Leopold would never again be a candidate. This demand William refused, but Bismarck so manipulated the reply (in his famous Ems telegram) that it seemed a deliberate insult to France. Thereupon Napoleon declared war (July 19, 1870).

*The
Spanish
incident of
1870.*

In the struggle which now ensued, Napoleon hoped that the South German states would, out of hatred of Prussia, side with him. But these states, remembering in Germany's hour of need both their written and unwritten obligations, put their forces under the command of the Prussian king. Not Prussia merely, but for the first time in centuries a united Germany marched to meet the foes of Germany.

*South Ger-
many on the
side of
Prussia.*

The German forces in the beginning of August invaded France. On August 6 the crown prince Frederick of Prussia came up with the army of Marshal MacMahon at *The German victories.* Würth, and defeated it so roundly that it had to abandon Alsace. The second French army, stationed in

Lorraine, now fell back on the great fortress Metz. *Würth.*

There the great German strategist, Moltke, determined on shutting it in, and after fighting the murderous battle of Gravelotte (August 18), succeeded in doing so. *Gravelotte.*

One half of the German forces were now detailed for the investment of Metz, while the other half pushed westward to find MacMahon, who, having recovered from his defeat at Würth, was hurrying on to relieve Metz.

At Sedan, on September 1st, MacMahon's forces once more met the Germans, and on the next day, seeing that resistance was hopeless, the whole French force surrendered.

The surrender of Sedan, September 2, 1870. Napoleon, who was present with his army, was sent as a prisoner across the Rhine, while the victorious

Germans continued their march westward, and toward the end of September undertook the investment of Paris.

Meanwhile, important things had happened in the capital of France. The calamity of Sedan was hardly known when

The Third Republic. the whole city of Paris rose in indignation against the luckless imperial government. The empress

Eugénie was driven from her palace, and France once more declared a Republic (September 4). At the same time, a number of men, the most prominent of whom was Gambetta, set up, for the purpose of effectively prosecuting the war, the Government of the National Defence.

The siege of Paris marks the last stage of the war. Gambetta made a most active and honourable resistance, but

Capitulation of Paris, followed by peace. his raw levies were no match, in the long run, for the disciplined soldiers of Germany. On January 28, 1871, Paris, disheartened by the surrender of Metz (October), and reduced to the last extremes

of misery and hunger, capitulated, and the war was over.

France had to buy peace from her enemies by paying a war indemnity of five milliards of francs (£200,000,000), and by ceding to them the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

As for Germany the war effected as important a change of government as in France. The great victories, won by the united efforts of north and south, created the desire for a permanent union, and accordingly, on January 18, 1871, at Versailles, king William of Prussia was proclaimed German emperor.

*The crea-
tion of the
German
Empire,
1871.*

About the same time there was completed a constitution for the new German Empire which was merely the constitution of the North German Confederation, so enlarged as to embrace the South German states. By virtue of this instrument Germany was organized as a federal government like the United States of America. The constitution recognizes twenty-five states of various size. The governments of these twenty-five send delegates to an upper house, called the Bundesrath, while the people elect, on the basis of direct and universal suffrage, the members of a second house, called the Reichstag. Bundesrath and Reichstag together make the laws; the king of Prussia, in his capacity of German emperor and head of the confederation, executes them. By this union Germany after long centuries again became a great power.

*The consti-
tution of the
new empire.*

France, in the months immediately following the peace with Germany, went through a terrible crisis. The Republic being at that time not yet fairly on its feet, the lawless elements of Paris made an attempt to set up a government of their own, which they called the Commune. The Commune actually acquired possession of the capital, and by confiscations, murders, and other atrocities maintained its hold upon it for two months (March-May, 1871). But in May the patriot Thiers, who was appointed first Chief of the Executive of the Republic, summoning a large force about him at Versailles, sent forth Marshal MacMahon to take the offensive against the Parisian revolutionists. After a long siege, and fearful street-fights, lasting a whole week, the

*The riots of
the Com-
mune, 1871.*

forces of the Commune were shattered to pieces. In their fanatical hatred of the established order of society, the Communists vowed that the victors should possess only a heap of ashes, and destroyed by fire the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville, and tried to destroy the rest of Paris. There followed a period of arrests and executions, and then France settled down earnestly to the work of repairing the fearful ravages of the war. The later development of the country is a witness of her success, and a testimony to the strength of the Third Republic.

*The up-
building of
France.*

The rest of the European powers had been no more than onlookers during the Franco-German War. The emperor of

*The dual
Empire of
Austro-
Hungary.*

Austria, mindful of 1866, was at first half inclined to take a hand, but for various reasons was persuaded to desist. Perhaps predominant among them was that his country had only just been internally reorganized. The year 1866 had, in fact, introduced an era of reform, for his terrible defeat at the hands of Prussia had not passed over the emperor Francis Joseph without results. He knew now that he must conciliate his various peoples, and establish a popular government; especially he must win back to allegiance the Hungarians. He, therefore, divided the Hapsburg dominions into an Austrian and a Hungarian half, and made them independent of each other, except for such matters as diplomacy and war. At Vienna, Francis Joseph would be emperor of Austria, at Budapest, king of Hungary, and in each half of his realm he was to reign under a separate constitution, legislature, and administration. This dual empire of Austro-Hungary was created in the year 1867, and proved a greater success than could have been expected. A great danger to the dual empire, however, arose from the Slavs, who were constantly demanding for themselves the exceptional position already granted to the Hungarians; instead of a *dual* empire, they wanted a *federal* one. As a matter of fact it was the revolt of the Slavs that broke up the Austrian Empire in 1918.

CHAPTER XXXV

GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA

(a) GREAT BRITAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- LITERATURE.—Fyffe, Phillips, Seignobos, Debidour (as before).
Erskine May, *The Constitutional History of England* (1760-1871).
M'Carthy, *History of our own Times, and Ireland since the Union*.
Holmes, *The Indian Mutiny*.
Malleson, *The Indian Mutiny*.
Payne, *Colonies and Dependencies*.
Whates, *The Third Salisbury Administration*.
Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain, and Present Position of European Politics*.
Traill, *Lord Cromer*.
Goldwin Smith, *The Empire*.
Parkin, *Imperial Federation*.
Gresswell, *History of the Dominion of Canada*.
Rusden, *History of Australia, and History of New Zealand*.
Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Isles*.
Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*.
Morley, *Life of Gladstone*.
Money Penny and Buckle, *Disraeli*.

No country had fought the French Revolution more bitterly or more persistently than Great Britain. Naturally therefore when the long war (1793-1815), which had inspired the subjects of king George III. with a fanatical aversion to revolutionary ideas, was once over, England, like the Continent, entered upon a period of reaction. The Tory party, led by Lord Castlereagh, the duke of Wellington, and other opponents of innovation, took control of the British state, and directed it for many years strictly in the aristocratic interest. But just as the Continent of Europe bore the reactionary yoke of Metternich and the Holy Alliance unwillingly, and quietly made ready to throw it off, so England gradually roused herself from her lethargy, and prepared to enter the road of reform. And that there were many things imperatively

Tory government after 1815.

The beginning of reform.

demanding reform, became clear as daylight the moment the idea had been once admitted.

First of all there was the anomalous religious situation. The Toleration Act of 1689 had practically given the Dissenters freedom of worship, but by the Test Act, which was still in vogue, they were debarred from holding office. Finally, in 1828, Parliament was persuaded to repeal the Test Act, and thereby first made the numerous bodies of Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists full-fledged English citizens, as eligible to fill a position of public trust as any Anglican.

It still remained to perform a similar act of justice toward the Roman Catholics, who were not relieved by the repeal of the Test Act, owing to a provision compelling every office-holder of England to abjure the pope. Perhaps the severely Protestant Parliament would not have taken up the matter of the liberation of the Catholics at all, if it had not been urged thereto by a dangerous agitation stirred up in Ireland by the patriotic orator, Daniel O'Connell, who inspired the Roman Catholic Irish to protest against the enactments which deprived them, as adherents of the ancient faith, of representation at Westminster. Wellington and his Tory friends were inclined at first to sneer at O'Connell's loud words and threats, but when the Iron Duke saw that Ireland to a man was backing her leader, and resolute in her demands to the point of revolution, he had the statesmanlike sagacity to give in. He passed, in 1829, a Catholic Relief Bill, by which Roman Catholics were admitted to all but the highest offices of the realm, viz. :—Regent, Lord Chancellor, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

These two liberating acts of 1828 and 1829 were the first breaches made in the conservative defences. But other assaults were sure to follow, and when, in 1830, a Whig or Liberal ministry had displaced the Tories or Conservatives, the Parliament was bold enough to proceed straightway to the most necessary of all reforms—to the reform of its own membership.

The seats in Parliament were distributed, in the year 1830, in accordance with a plan which had suffered no material alteration for two hundred years. But the last two hundred years had wrought great changes in the society of England; towns which had once flourished had decayed, mere villages had become prosperous towns. Thus it happened that a number of boroughs which were practically extinct, by old custom still sent representatives to Parliament. Moreover the borough franchise varied greatly. Some boroughs had what amounted to household suffrage, in others the vote was confined to a few privileged burgesses or attached to the tenure of particular houses or patches of land. Such boroughs were justly denominated "rotten," because the members who sat in Parliament in their behalf were the nominees of a mere handful of men, nay, frequently of a single person. Thus it was clear that the House of Commons, as constituted in 1830, had become a mockery, and that it was preposterous to claim that it represented the English people.

The Parliamentary abuse.

The question of Parliamentary reform, brought forward by the Liberals in 1830, involved them in a severe conflict with the Conservatives, but backed by the country, they carried their point. The Reform Bill (1832) became a law; the "rotten" boroughs were disfranchised, and at the same time the right to vote was extended to additional classes of citizens and the franchise was made uniform.

The Passage of the first Reform Bill, 1832.

The Reform Bill of 1832 may be said to have transferred the power in England to the middle class. But it did nothing for the industrial and farming classes, and sooner or later, such was the levelling tendency of the age, these would have to be admitted to a share in the government. As the practical need arose Parliament extended the franchise. The Act of 1867 enfranchised the artisans of the towns, that of 1884 the agricultural labourers. Finally in 1917 a further extension took place. The vote was granted to women above 30, the qualifying

The second, third and fourth Reform Bills.

period reduced, and plural voting almost abolished. Thus the electorate now amounts to over twenty millions, and Great Britain, like most other European countries, enjoys practically universal suffrage.

Hand in hand with these Parliamentary reforms have gone a great number of others affecting almost every branch of the public service. Perhaps the most important is the repeal of the Corn Laws. The Corn Laws were intended to protect the land-holding class, who were mainly the aristocracy, by means

Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846. of a large duty upon grain.¹ Naturally, that duty, by raising the price of bread, fell heavily upon the English labourer. After a long educational

England adopts free trade. campaign, headed by the economist, Richard Cobden, the Corn Laws were repealed (1846). During the the next twenty years Peel and his disciple Gladstone gradually abolished the whole series

of protective duties. From 1865 Great Britain alone among commercial nations, has pursued a policy of complete free trade, under which she has enormously extended her trade relations all over the world.

Although the policy of sensible reform removed most of the internal difficulties which arose in Great Britain during the nineteenth century, one problem remained as

The Irish problem. perplexing and hopeless at the end of the century as at the beginning. The name of that problem

was Ireland. We have seen that the British Parliament had not remained blind to all the various forms of Irish misery,

The Episcopal Church disestablished, 1868. and that by the Relief Bill of 1829 the Roman Catholic Irish had at length been admitted to office. A benefit along the same line was con-

ferred when, in the year 1868, the Protestant Episcopal organization, which the Irish had been obliged to call their national Church, was deprived of its privileges.

But these religious grievances of the Irish, it was compara-

¹ The word "corn," as used in England, embraces all kinds of grain. Corn Laws means Grain Laws.

tively easy for Parliament to settle in an age of increasing tolerance. For other grievances, it had also attempted *Other* to find a remedy. Owing to the confiscations of *grievances.* the seventeenth century, the Irish soil was, to a large extent, in the hands of a few hundred English landlords, the Irish themselves being mere tenants-at-will and day-labourers. Since the Act of Union of 1801, however, Ireland had been granted gradually increasing powers of self-government.

Under these circumstances, the efforts of the Irish party in the House of Commons were directed toward two aims: First, to enable the Irish tenants to acquire from the English landlords the ownership of the land they *The efforts of the Irish* tilled; and secondly, to secure for the Irish an *party, backed by the Eng-* Irish Parliament at Dublin, with power to manage *lish Liberals.* local affairs very much like an American state-legislature. In their efforts they were supported by the great Liberal party inspired by W. E. Gladstone. A series of Land Acts, more and more drastic in character, established the "Three F's," fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale. Finally a gigantic scheme of Land Purchase was *Land* carried through (1903, 1909) based on the credit *Reform.* of the British Government. The vast majority of the Irish cultivators became owners of their land on easy terms and "the Irish land-system, once the worst, has now become the best in Europe."

The struggle for self-government, "Home Rule" as it has been called, was long and embittered. Beginning with O'Connell's agitation for "Repeal," it gave rise to *Home* a rebellion in 1848 and to the Fenian Rising of *Rule.* 1864, both easily suppressed. A constitutional agitation followed, closely allied with the movement for land-reform, ably led by Parnell, but disfigured by many acts of violence. The Reform Act of 1884 gave the Irish Nationalist party a compact phalanx of 80 members in Parliament. In 1886 the Liberals under Gladstone's leadership adopted Home Rule, but the Liberal party was split in two and the bill defeated. The second Home Rule Bill passed the Commons in 1892, but

was rejected by the Lords. The third became law in 1914 as a result of the Parliament Act of 1911 which paralysed the opposition of the Peers; but owing to the outbreak of war in August the operation of the Act was postponed. The Dublin Rebellion of 1916 was followed by a period of growing anarchy and outrage, met by more or less vigorous repression. At the election of 1918 the Nationalist party was swept away by the new movement for independence styled by its leaders "Sinn Fein" (ourselves). A provisional assembly in Dublin, "Dail Eirean," unrecognised but not suppressed, appointed a national administration in opposition to the regular government. An amending Act in 1920 failed to conciliate the Irish and after three years of anarchy the British Government came to terms with the insurgents. A treaty was concluded (Easter 1922) granting to Ireland full Dominion status (*i.e.* complete freedom under the British Crown) and was ratified by both Parliaments before the end of the year. The six counties of Ulster forming the Protestant north had accepted self-government under the 1920 Act and retained thirteen members at Westminster. Power was reserved for Ulster to join the Irish Dominion later if it so pleased.

The marvellous colonial expansion of Great Britain in the nineteenth century, together with the start she gained over other nations in the industrial revolution, has had much to do with the creation of the vast trade, through which has been amassed that fabulous wealth, which has enabled her to bear the burden of financing almost single-handed the greatest war in all history.

But that expansion has had its disadvantages. All over the world she has interests which need to be defended. She has vulnerable land frontiers to guard; she has great areas of wild country which must be policed; at countless points her interests touch and conflict with those of other powers. And to do all this she relies on her fleet and on a voluntary army, expensive indeed and highly trained, but in numbers barely adequate for its task. "Little wars" have been a normal feature of her nineteenth century history. Of the great powers,

however, after 1815 she fought only one—Russia, in the Crimean War. She engaged in this war because she wished to exclude Russia from Constantinople and her fleet from the Mediterranean. Ever since then the rivalry of the two powers over Turkey has troubled their relations. Russia, rebuffed in her effort to reach the Mediterranean and control the Levant, pressed steadily eastwards, and here arose another difficulty—in Asia.

India is the largest and richest province of the British Empire and she guards it with jealous care. The steady expansion of Russia over the Asiatic Khanates of Tartary caused the English in India to feel that they were being threatened. Border disputes were frequent and on several occasions brought the two nations to the verge of war. In fact the greatest, now almost the sole external threat to the British colonial empire comes from Russia, and chiefly at the two points mentioned, Constantinople and India, the safety of which involves control of the policy of Persia and Afghanistan. The German menace, increasingly great from 1900–1914, has now, for the time at least, disappeared.

By her occupation of Egypt in 1882, and her acquisition of a block of the Suez Canal Shares (1876) Britain secured control of the Canal and the other waterways to India, but at the same time she delivered a blow to the influence of France in the Levant which was not easily forgiven. But neither this nor any other causes of friction ever led to war, and the difficulties were finally cleared up by the Entente of 1904.

(b) RUSSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

LITERATURE.—Seignobos, Fyffe, Müller, and Andrews (as before).
 Holland, *The European Contest in the Eastern Question*.
 Rambaud, *Russia*.
 Skrine, *Expansion of Russia*.
 J. A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question*.

The study of the foregoing pages must, on more than one occasion, have impressed the reader with the increasing importance in the world of Russia. We saw Russia under Peter the Great (1689-1725) establish herself as an European power; under Catharine the Great (1762-95) we observed her accomplish the destruction of Poland; and under Alexander I. (1801-25) we noted her assumption of the leadership of the European nations in the overthrow of Napoleon. From the death of Alexander I. to the day of their downfall the principal objects of the policy of the czars were the overthrow of Turkey and the extension of Russian rule in Asia.

To understand the character of the conflict between Russia and Turkey it is necessary to grasp the condition of the Ottoman empire. This state was created chiefly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the military triumphs of fanatical Mohammedan hordes, called Turks, and embraced at its height the north coast of Africa, Syria, Asia Minor, and south-eastern Europe. The head of the empire of Turkey was its absolute master, and was called sultan. Under him as heads of the provincial divisions of the empire were the pashas. The Turks made no effort to assimilate the many peoples they conquered, and never appeared in any other guise than that of a privileged class of military despots encamped among conquered nations of slaves.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the despotic character of the Turkish rule began to excite shame and

horror among the Christian subjects of the sultan. The bulk of these were resident in south-eastern Europe, and were racially either Greeks or Slavs. The Greeks dwelt approximately within the confines of ancient Hellas and on the Ægean Islands, while the Slavs, among whom we must distinguish the families of the Serbs, the Roumanians, the Bulgarians,¹ and the Montenegrins, were scattered, often without any clearly marked geographical boundaries, over the Balkan peninsula. From the beginning of the nineteenth century the Greeks and the Slavs, growing more and more restless under Turkish rule, have risen repeatedly to gain their independence. In these risings they almost invariably enjoyed the sympathy and aid of Russia, for, in the first place, the rise of the subject nationalities of the Balkans fell in with the Russian policy, which aimed at the abasement of Turkey; and in the second place, the Russian people were linked with the Slav and Greek peoples by the common bond of the Greek Church.

The bulk of the Christian peoples of the Balkans.

The reader has already been made acquainted with some of the movements of the Balkan peninsula and with some of the conflicts between Russia and Turkey resulting therefrom. In the year 1821 the Greeks rose against their masters, and maintained themselves for years against them in a struggle as heroic as any in history. The interference of the western powers at Navarino (1827), followed by the still more emphatic interference of Russia in the war of 1828-29, inclined the scales in favour of the Greeks; they became independent under a constitutional monarchy. In the peace signed at Adrianople (1829) the Russians further secured for the principalities of Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, a fair degree of self-government.

The independence of Greece and the Turco-Russian War of 1828-29.

It was the Czar Nicholas I. (1825-55) who had waged the war of 1828-9, and it was he also who proposed the partition of Turkey which led to the Crimean War of 1854 (see

¹ Bulgarian is a Slavonic language, but the people are generally regarded as of Turanian stock.

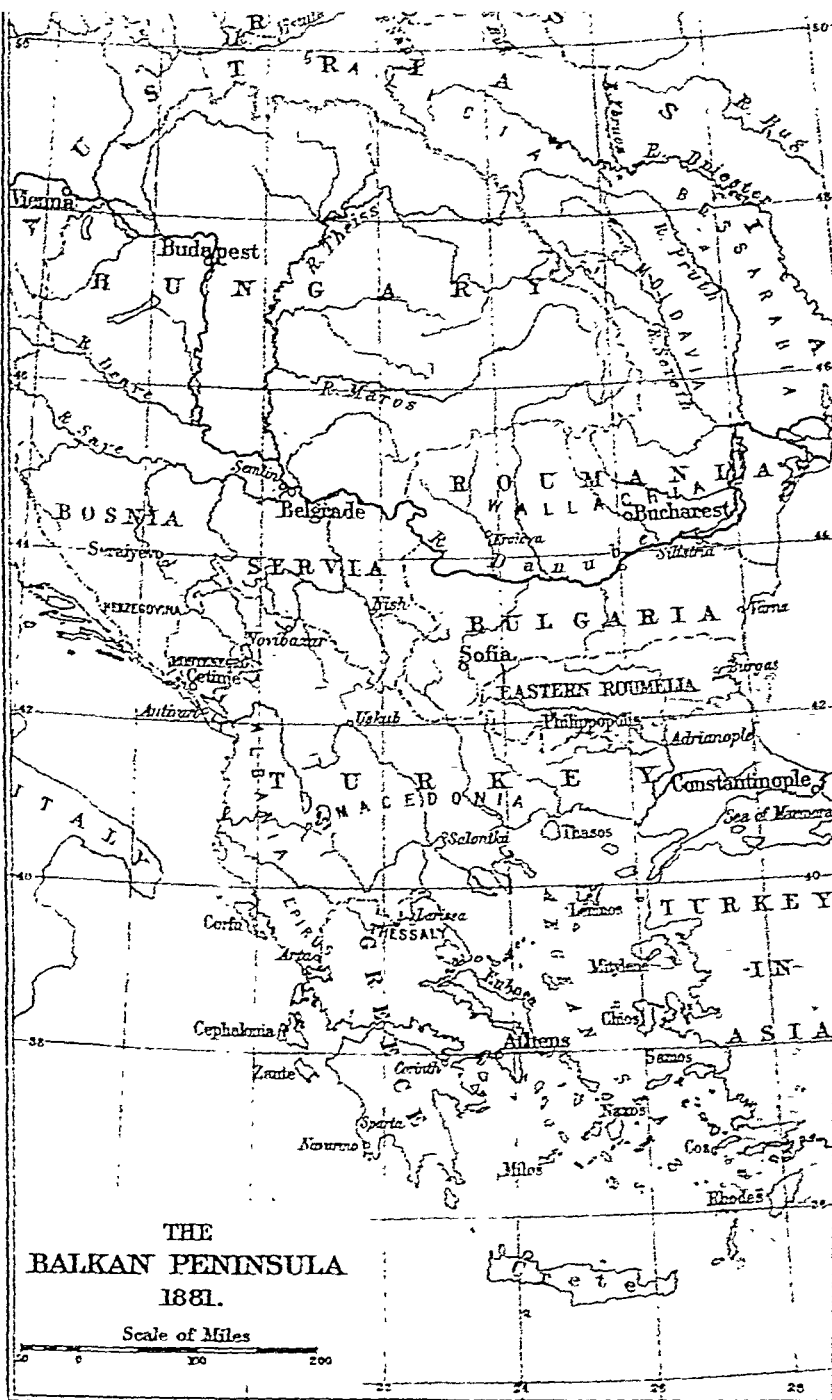
p. 518). The terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the struggle were that Russia abandoned her claim to the protectorate of the Christian peasantry, Turkey was formally admitted to the circle of European powers, Turkish affairs were recognised as the joint concern of the "Concert of Europe" now reconstituted after having been in abeyance for many years, the Danube was internationalised as a waterway, the Black Sea was closed to warships of all nations and Russia undertook not to fortify any arsenal or position along its coasts. The leading Danubian principalities, Serbia, Wallachia¹ and Moldavia were confirmed in the rights (self-government under the suzerainty of the Sultan) which had been granted them by the Treaty of Adrianople. Other noteworthy points about the Congress of Paris are the following: (1) It revived the system of 1815 by which matters concerning the interests of several powers were settled by European conference, though the method in a less perfect form is found in the settlement of Belgian neutrality (1837) Luxemburg (1831) and the Schleswig Holstein imbroglio (2) Privateering was abolished (3) England abandoned her claim to the right of search and capture at sea and accepted in substance the contentions of the Armed Neutrality of 1800.

The situation in the Balkan peninsula did not enter another crisis till 1875, when a revolt broke out in Bosnia owing to the insufferable oppression of the Turkish tax-collectors.

*The revolt
of Bosnia,
1875.*

The brave Bosnian insurgents maintained themselves with success in their mountains, and for a time the situation of the Turks was critical. While fighting the Bosnians in front of them, they had to reckon with the possibility of a rising among the Bosnian sympathizers in their rear, for the consequence of the Bosnian struggle was a tremendous ferment among all the Christian races under Turkish rule, accompanied by the desire to effect a common rising against the Mohammedan master. Fearful of this movement

¹ Wallachia and Moldavia were in 1861 united under the name of Roumania.



the Turks resolved to forestall it by a characteristic method. They sent irregular troops among the Bulgarians, with orders to kill whomsoever they encountered, and these troops throwing themselves upon the defenceless Bulgarian villages, massacred in cold blood thousands and thousands of men, women and children.

The Bulgarian atrocities filled Europe with horror. The sultan made glib excuses, and the diplomats arranged all kinds of compromises, but the difficulties between Europe and Turkey had already got beyond adjustment by paper conclusions. In Russia, where the people were related to the Bulgarians by ties of race and religion, the popular sentiment was soon excited beyond control, and in April, 1877, the Czar Alexander II. (1855-81), unable and unwilling longer to resist the public pressure, declared war.

The Bulgarian massacres, 1876.

Russia declares war 1877.

In June the Russians crossed the Danube, and a month later occupied the principal passes of the Balkan Mountains. But at this juncture they met with their only serious check. In the rapid overthrow of the Turkish empire one man appeared, resolved to save at least the military honour of the nation. This was Osman Pasha. He gathered such forces as were available, fortified himself at Plevna, and for five months directed a defence against the Russians which stopped completely the forward movement upon Constantinople, and invited the admiration of the world. But in December, 1877, Plevna was taken, and Osman, "the lion of Plevna," with the worn-out remnant of his troops, had to surrender.

The Russian invasion. Plevna.

Immediately on the surrender of Plevna the Russians took up again their march to Constantinople. Turkey offered no further resistance, and in sight of the minarets of the Turkish capital, the Russians forced from the Turks the Peace of San Stefano (March, 1878). The Peace of San Stefano practically decreed the dissolution of the Turkish empire in Europe, but it was no sooner signed than England made the demand that it be sub-

The Peace of San Stefano. England protests.

mitted to the European powers for revision. Russia at first protested, but as England, then governed by Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli), threatened to go to war in order to get satisfaction, the Czar gave way. In consequence there assembled for the revision of the Peace of San Stefano the Congress of Berlin (June, 1878).

The Congress of Berlin was largely dominated by suspicion of Russia, and adopted in consequence the policy of strengthening the small states of the Balkan peninsula, in the hope that they might prove an effective barrier, in the future, between Russia and her prey on the Bosphorus. It ratified the following measures:

1. Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania were declared independent. 2. Bulgaria was constituted a self-governing principality, subject merely to the payment of an annual tribute to the sultan. Its boundaries were drawn on the north by the Danube, and on the south by the Balkan Mountains. 3. The southern part of ancient Bulgaria—the part south of the Balkans—was constituted as the province of East Roumelia, and, though given an independent civil administration, was left under the military authority of the Turks. 4. Austria was commissioned to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. 5. Russia received Bessarabia and a number of territories in Asia Minor. As the reader will observe, Russia came out of the Congress of Berlin damaged in prestige and shorn of her triumphs, and looked upon the Berlin settlement with wrath and indignation.

In the years following the Congress of Berlin a number of changes occurred, most of which indicated an increasing vigour on the part of the Balkan "buffer" states and the success of the Berlin policy. In 1881 Roumania declared herself a kingdom under king Charles I. of the German House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Serbia followed suit in 1882, her first king being Milan I. of the native Serbian family of Obrenovitch. Bulgaria, however, saw even greater changes. In 1885 East Roumelia, which had by the Congress of Berlin been separated

The Congress of Berlin, 1878.

Roumania, Serbia, and Bulgaria since the war.

from Bulgaria against its will, revolted against Turkish rule, and united itself with its sister state. Serbia, jealous of the aggrandisement of its neighbour Bulgaria, declared war and was soundly beaten at the battle of Slivnitza. The intervention of the powers put a stop to the conflict. Soon after this event Alexander of Battenberg, who had been elected prince of Bulgaria in 1879, was deposed by a Russian conspiracy, but the affairs of the country were not greatly disturbed by this mischance, for Ferdinand of Coburg was elected prince in Alexander's stead, and the country enjoyed comparative quiet for some years.

If by means of the three wars which Russia has waged against Turkey since the Congress of Vienna, she has made considerable acquisitions from that country, she has *Russia in* fared still better in another quarter. In central *Asia.* and eastern Asia, she has had no very important foe to face, and has in consequence, by a system of gradual encroachments, added to Siberia, which she already held, a great number of border provinces, so that her territory now reaches to the frontiers of India and China.

Before we close the chapter on Russia, a number of internal matters deserve a passing mention. The Czar Alexander II. (1855-81) was rather more humane than his predecessor, and introduced at least one praiseworthy reform. In 1858 he granted freedom to the *The emancipation of the Serfs, 1861.* 20,000,000 serfs on the crown domains, and in 1861 he ordered also the liberation of the 20,000,000 serfs resident upon the lands of the nobles, making the peasants by these decrees free proprietors. This high-minded measure raised great expectations among the educated classes, who fancied that the Russian millennium was at hand, and demanded a constitutional government. When the Czar turned a deaf ear to their request, the more radical elements plotted secretly against the government, and drifted gradually into nihilism. *Nihilism.* The nihilists kept up an active propaganda for many decades, and committed many deeds of horror, even assassinating, in 1881, the Czar,

just at the moment when he had decided to grant a constitution. These excesses the government met by wholesale execution and exile to Siberia, but the nihilist agitation still continued. Assassination as a form of political action grew more and more frequent, government repression more and more severe. In 1905 when, owing to the loss of the war with Japan, discontent had risen to a dangerous height, the Czar Nicholas II. granted a constitution, a Duma or elective assembly with limited powers of taxation and legislation, and a nominated council of state somewhat on the German model. But this did not satisfy the extremists. A Sunday demonstration at Petrograd was dispersed by the troops and a large number of people were killed. The agitation was driven under ground for the time and most of the leaders went into exile, becoming in many cases centres of extremist propaganda in the countries that afforded them asylum,

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE GENERAL SITUATION AT THE OPENING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY UP TO 1914

(a) THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

LITERATURE.—Seignobos, Dyer, Phillips, Fyffe (as before).

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Curzon, *Problems in the Far East*.

Milner, *England in Egypt*.

Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*.

Worcester, *The Philippine Islands*.

"Odysseus," *Turkey in Europe*.

Parker, *China*.

Keltie, *The Partition of Africa*.

Craik, *A Century of Scottish History*.

Caldicott, *English Colonization and Empire*.

Cotton and Paine, *Colonies and Dependencies*.

Bryce, *Impressions in South Africa*.

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Fitzpatrick, *The Transvaal from Within*.

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Ramsay Muir, *Expansion of Europe and Nationalism and Internationalism*.

General Maurice, *War in South Africa*.

Williams, *Cecil Rhodes*.

Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*.

Tardieu, *France and the Alliances*.

A. B. Hart, *Monroe Doctrine*.

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Hanotaux, *La Guerre des Balkans*.

Gooch, *History of Europe, 1876-1920*.

DURING the latter half of the nineteenth century we notice a marked difference in the character of international relations. European interests are no longer confined to the Continent; no longer do they deal mainly with dynastic changes and small transfers of territory. The efforts of Governments are largely devoted to problems lying outside Europe, beyond the seas; their policy has become a world-wide policy.

This change has its origin in the sixteenth century when, following in the wake of the great discoverers, first Spain and Portugal, then successively France, Holland and England established trading settlements at various points of the globe and planted in distant lands new seedlings of the parent stocks. Thus Europe became interlaced in a real way with Asia, Africa, America and Australia, and the connection, slender at first, has gradually grown so important and so intimate that for some nations, *e.g.* Great Britain, its severance would be a veritable catastrophe. The developments in speed and certainty of communication which have been so marked a feature of the nineteenth century and the astounding increase in international trade resulting from the Industrial Revolution have so knitted the World's peoples together that the interest of one is the interest of all and any great upheaval produces world-wide effects.

Broadly speaking, it is true to say that the European nations took to the sea in the order of their national consolidation; that is to say, in the order in which their Governments became strong enough to claim new territory and to hold it against aggressors.

First in the field were Portugal and Spain.

The former, as we have seen (pp. 262, 263), founded numerous trading settlements in the far east and acquired a vast western dependency in Brazil. Her eastern *Portugal.* empire was but shortlived: it passed to Holland between 1580 and 1640. Brazil became independent early in the nineteenth century, under the Emperor Pedro, and on his dethronement in 1889 it became a republic. Only her possessions in East and West Africa remain (together with Goa and Macao in the Far East) and these she holds in a feeble grasp.

Spain, besides numerous islands in the East and West Indies, conquered and colonised Mexico and the greater part of Central and South America. All these realms, *Spain.* except those West Indian Islands which were acquired by England, she held in spite of her growing weakness

and a selfish colonial policy, for nearly three centuries. But the connection was at last broken by the Peninsular War. The Spanish colonies, thrown perforce on their own resources, experienced the benefits of unfettered trade, and when the restored Spanish monarchy endeavoured to recall them to their allegiance and enforce the former exclusive system they one and all revolted and proclaimed their independence. When Spain with the aid of France proposed to subdue them, Great Britain and the United States interposed. Canning intimated to the French government that Great Britain would not permit her intervention. "If France," he said in Parliament, "must have Spain, it shall be Spain without her colonies." President Monroe, with Canning's approval, perhaps at his suggestion, enunciated the famous "Doctrine" known by his name. In effect this declaration stated that the United States, while recognising all existing European possessions, would not allow any power to acquire a fresh footing on the American Continent. This doctrine has been subsequently expanded so as to exclude all foreign interference in the affairs of any American state.

As instances of its working we may quote the enforced withdrawal of Napoleon III. from Mexico in 1867 and the settlement of the boundary dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain in 1895. Between 1822 and 1825 the independence of the various Spanish colonies was recognised by most of the powers and, after some half-century of disturbance and civil war, they have most of them settled down into a state of comparative order and prosperity. Till towards the end of the nineteenth century Spain still retained Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. But in 1898 the U.S.A. battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbour, and war ensued. American forces invaded Cuba; a Spanish cruiser-squadron was sunk by the American fleet outside Santiago, and Spain was forced to yield. Cuba was made independent under American protection; Puerto Rico and the Philippines were ceded to the United States. Thus disappeared the last vestige of the great colonial empire of Philip II.

Holland, stimulated by the exaltation of the struggle with Spain, and owning two-thirds of the mercantile marine of Europe, acquired at the expense of Portugal the great island empire in the East Indies which she still retains; but exhaustion, chiefly due to her wars with France in the seventeenth century, put an end to her expansion.

In the course of the eighteenth century England and France engaged in a memorable duel for trade and empire overseas. By the Peace of Paris (1763) the former emerged as undisputed mistress of America and India. The revolt of the thirteen Atlantic colonies, which formed the federal government of the United States of America (1789) deprived her soon afterwards of the better part of her American holdings; but by the Peace of Versailles she was left in undisturbed occupation of Canada, which remains to-day her most important possession in the west. In India her authority, unchallenged, save by the Mutiny, since 1763, has become constantly more consolidated, and her material interests, carefully nursed, have swelled to gigantic proportions.

During the Napoleonic wars England acquired from the Dutch, who had been compelled to side with France, Ceylon and the territory in South Africa known as the Cape. Gradually her rule extended northward and eastward till it included all South Africa, up to and even beyond the Zambesi. In the first half of the nineteenth century she acquired by settlement the vast continent of Australia and the neighbouring islands, including New Zealand.

Having learnt her lesson from the loss of the American Colonies, Great Britain dealt much more liberally with her newer dependencies. Slowly at first, but with ever increasing freedom and confidence, the principle of responsible self-government was applied to all. The Canadian provinces, which already enjoyed a measure of autonomy, were bound together in one vast Dominion stretching from ocean to ocean, and from the Great Lakes to the Polar regions—the first of

the great daughter-nations of Britain. So also the States of Australia, which received autonomy in the middle of the nineteenth century, were united in 1900 under the title of the Commonwealth of Australia. New Zealand too enjoys a similar government.

Even in India tentative steps were taken by successive British governments towards granting to the natives a share in the administration of their own affairs; but it is too early to judge of the success of the experiment. Ireland also, long a thorn in the side of Britain, was elevated to Dominion status in 1922.

In South Africa progress was difficult and slow. Here the Dutch colonists, trekking northwards to avoid the encroachments of the British, founded two independent republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, over which Great Britain claimed to exercise an ill-defined suzerainty.

The discovery of gold in the Transvaal brought about a considerable immigration of Europeans, who soon began to clamour for citizen rights. On the other hand the Dutch governments clung jealously to their independence, which they felt to be endangered. The Jameson Raid in 1897 further embittered the ill-feeling between the two races. Other minor points of difference arose, and finally, after protracted negotiations, war broke out in 1899. The Dutch resistance proved unexpectedly formidable, and the British troops sustained several serious defeats. Even after the regular armies of the Boers were beaten, guerilla warfare continued, not only in the republics but also in Cape Colony, for nearly two years. Not until March 1902 was peace signed at Vereeniging. The Dutch submitted: their independence was at an end. But here also a generous policy found its reward. Cape Colony and Natal already possessed self-government. In 1906 and 1907 it was also granted to the former Dutch Republics, and two years later the whole of the Southern portion of the continent except Rhodesia¹ was united into a self-governing State called the Union of South

¹ Rhodesia attained responsible government in 1922.

Africa. The loyalty displayed and the great services rendered by South Africa in the great war (1914-1918) fully proved the wisdom of this generous treatment.

In the Mediterranean Great Britain had held Gibraltar since 1704, Malta since 1800, Cyprus since 1878. In 1882 she occupied Egypt, where she had exercised a joint financial control with France for several years. When a military revolt had made occupation inevitable, France refused to participate, so England went in alone. Her position was anomalous. British advisers controlled every department, British troops occupied Cairo, British officers commanded the Egyptian army, yet the occupation was declared to be temporary. It was not till 1914 that the Sultan's authority was formally repudiated and a protectorate proclaimed — only to be abrogated in 1922.

The Sudan was lost to Egypt for a while owing to the Mahdist rising, but it was recovered in 1896 by Kitchener at the battle of Omdurman and annexed as the joint possession of Great Britain and Egypt. The Sudan's importance lies in the fact that it commands the upper Nile and therefore controls the irrigation of Egypt.

All through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Russia pressed steadily eastward and south-eastward across Northern

Russia. Asia till by 1900 she had reached the Pacific and

the Chinese frontier, occupied Manchuria and, at one point (in the Pamirs), her frontier marched with British India. The small States of Afghanistan and Persia still remained independent, but were exposed to perpetual danger of extinction in the diplomatic struggle between the two great powers. The Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 produced a temporary *détente*; but the revolutionary government established in Russia after the war, like most governments based on violence, proved dangerously aggressive, and reawakened all the old suspicions.

France, which suffered so severe a colonial set-back in the eighteenth century, bravely attempted to retrieve her losses in the nineteenth. In 1830 she conquered Algiers, which soon

became a flourishing colony. In 1881 a protectorate was declared over Tunis, and by 1900 the whole Sahara area and the Upper Niger was hers, with access to the coast southward through Dahomey, while she had in the meantime secured certain rights over Morocco. At the beginning of the new century she held also Madagascar, Tonquin and Further India east of Siam. The French treatment of the tropical (negro) colonies differed from the British system in this:—they observed the colour-line with less strictness, were perhaps better liked, if less respected, than ourselves, and made use freely of the services of the black¹ fighting races to supplement their national army.

Germany and Italy came late into the field. As German commerce expanded in the seventies and imperialistic sentiment grew stronger the longing for colonies became keener, and with it the conviction of their need of a big navy to protect their oversea trade; for their commercial marine was increasing rapidly and they resented its being at the mercy of the sea power of Britain. Bismarck disapproved of both desires but yielded to pressure.

After 1880 German explorers began to peg out claims on the African Coast, a policy which induced a general scramble for Africa, and, but for the prudence and self-restraint of the leading European statesmen, might easily have led to disastrous conflicts. The principle adopted was that of settling differences and marking out spheres of influence by open conferences, instead of by force and chicanery as before: and the interests of the native population for the first time entered into the negotiations of the Great Powers. The Congo Free State, founded by Leopold of Belgium, was officially recognised, and at his death the administration was transferred to the Belgian government. France and England, who had actually been on the brink of war over Fashoda, settled their differences there and on the Niger. Meanwhile Germany had acquired large territories in East and South-West Africa, the Kameruns

¹ Out of a total of 680,000 troops in the French army in 1923, 250,000 were coloured men.

and Togoland; she had also purchased the Caroline Islands from Spain and obtained a portion of New Guinea and a number of south-sea islands under an international agreement, which divided up the whole of the Pacific area amongst the great European powers.

Italy was less fortunate. Her attempt to colonise the land on the west of the Red Sea came to an inglorious end in a crushing defeat by the Abyssinians at Adowa; but in 1912 she took Tripoli from Turkey and so gained a footing on the south of the Mediterranean.

But it was not only through disputes about colonies and unoccupied territory that extra-European matters affected the relations of the European powers. Questions *The Far East, China and Japan.* relating to China and Japan also had their share of influence. Only in the nineteenth century had the development of these two powers become of direct importance to Europe. Both nations had for hundreds of years pursued a policy of isolation. China was on several occasions compelled by force (1842, 1860, 1868) to grant commercial and even territorial concessions, but she continued to offer a stubborn resistance to all innovation.

Japan, once defeated and compelled to receive western traders, abandoned her obstructive attitude, accepted all the most progressive ideas of western civilisation, and in fifty years advanced from a state of medieval feudalism to the position of a first-rate military and naval power, with big manufacturing industries and a vigorous oversea trade. The rapidity of this transformation is quite unprecedented in history. Her excessive population, ever seeking an outlet for expansion, rendered her an object of dread to the white communities of the Pacific, and in a lesser degree to the western states of America.

In 1895 the weakness of China was fully revealed in the war with Japan. The latter, commanding an army and navy organised and equipped on modern principles, won an easy victory. She was, however, deprived of her legitimate gains by the intervention of Russia, France and Germany, who

compelled her to be satisfied with Formosa, the protectorate of Korea, and an indemnity of moderate amount. In 1897 Russia compelled China to cede to her Manchuria on leasehold and extended a branch of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Harbin southward to Port Arthur, which she fortified as a naval base. Germany and Great Britain followed suit: the former secured Kiao-Chow and the Shantung Peninsula, the latter the harbour of Wei-hai-wei. These aggressions met with a temporary check in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. An army of international troops occupied Peking, and an indemnity was imposed, but no further annexation followed.

By this time all the great trading nations had become fully aware of the enormous importance of China as an outlet for their trade. With her population of three hundred millions, her vast undeveloped mineral wealth, her fertile soil and varied climate she still presents the largest unexploited trade-area in the world. So the scramble for China began, and still continues. Broadly speaking, Great Britain and the United States stand for "the open door" and equality of opportunity, though the former at one time accepted the Yangtze Valley as her special sphere of influence; the other nations, including Japan, have favoured the idea of getting exclusive rights in certain areas, while at the same time protesting their disinterested motives. Early in 1902 Great Britain and Japan concluded a treaty to maintain the *status quo*, in which the contracting parties bound themselves to defend each other if attacked by two or more hostile powers. A few months later war broke out between Russia and Japan. The ostensible causes were but trivial, but the real bone of contention was the control of Northern China and Port Arthur. The overwhelming success of Japan came as a surprise to the West. Not only did her navy defeat and shut up in Port Arthur the Russian Eastern fleet but it also annihilated at Tshushima a relief fleet sent from Europe, the first striking example of the devastating effect of modern naval artillery. (The "Dogger Bank" incident during the outward voyage of this fleet almost involved Britain and France in the war, but this catastrophe

was averted by careful diplomacy.) Besides her complete success at sea Japan invaded Manchuria and inflicted three severe defeats on Russian armies, equal or superior in numbers to her own. Peace was made by the Treaty of Portsmouth, thanks to the intervention of the President of the United States: Japan got Saghalien, the occupation of Manchuria with control of the railway, and an indemnity.

The most important effect of this war from the European point of view was that it weakened the position of Russia as a factor in the balance of power, and thereby enhanced the power of Germany.

(b) EUROPEAN RELATIONS.

Colonial, African and Far Eastern affairs all bore their part in determining the relations of the European powers.

But even more dangerous causes of friction appeared in the affairs of the Turkish empire, still sinking to decay, and of the Balkan States, the destined heirs to Turkey's European territories. These states, set up by the

*Turkey and
the Balkan
States.*

Congress of Berlin, showed great vigour and enterprise; but they also displayed a mutual hostility which proved difficult to restrain, and a natural desire to secure the remaining Turkish lands in Europe occupied by a peasantry, mixed indeed in race, but in religion mainly Christian. Greece, especially, revived the old dream of an Eastern Empire with its capital at Constantinople and including Greek-speaking Asia Minor and the Ægean islands. Serbia and Bulgaria aimed above all at gaining access to the sea, the former in the Adriatic, the latter in the Ægean, while all three nations were equally eager to acquire the biggest share of Macedonia and Thrace. Meanwhile Russia looked with some disfavour on the growth of the Slav States, which, though they owed their independence to her efforts, yet were less and less inclined to be subservient to her and bade fair to bar her way to the south. Austria, excluded from Germany by the Treaty of Prag (1866), sought compensation by increasing her influence

in the Balkans and coveted Salonica as an outlet to the Mediterranean. She failed to see that this "drang nach Osten" would tend to heighten the power of the Slav element in her own mosaic of nationalities and would upset the delicate balance of the Dual Empire. Meanwhile German commercial magnates, eager for fresh fields of trade and energetically backed by their governments, burned to exploit the undeveloped wealth of Asia Minor and to secure the control of the great railway lines that must soon be built to the East. Her influence began to predominate at Constantinople and her Kaiser began to pose as the faithful champion of Moham-
medanism. Thus, what with the perpetual intrigues of the great powers, the turbulence of the newly-created states, the repeated complaints of Turkish outrages in Macedonia and Thrace, and the incursion of irregular bands of brigands across the frontiers, the Balkan peninsula was a perennial source of trouble and anxiety to the statesmen of Europe.

Turkish affairs called for European intervention on two points:—Armenia and Crete. Armenia is the mountainous region lying to the North-East of Asia Minor *The Near East, Armenia.* proper. Its inhabitants are of Semitic stock and profess a form of Christianity closely akin to the Orthodox faith accepted by Russia. The country was held partly by Russia, partly by Turkey. In 1890 the Turkish Armenians, no doubt prompted by Russian agents, revolted and claimed their independence. In 1894, '95 and '96 massacres of Armenians by Turkish irregulars caused much indignation in Europe: one of the most notorious took place in Constantinople itself. A proposal to make the Armenians independent was discussed, but was abandoned owing to Russian opposition.

The other storm-centre, was the island of Crete. Here the mixture of population, half Moslems, half Greek Christians, both of a very pugnacious type, gave rise to con- *Greece and Crete.* stant disturbances. There seems no doubt that the Turks suppressed the disorders with considerable severity and that the Christians were gravely oppressed. In 1894 they

revolted and the Greeks came to their aid. Failing to suppress the revolt, the Sultan promised reforms and a Christian governor. But delays occurred and Turkish good faith was, as usual, distrusted. In 1897 Greece declared war and sent a fleet to Crete, Turkish armies moving through Macedonia entered Thessaly and utterly defeated the Greeks at Pharsala, almost on the very spot where Cæsar beat Pompeius. The powers intervened. Greece was let off with a small indemnity and some minor frontier adjustments, while Crete became autonomous under Prince George of Greece: but the experiment was not a success. Ultimately the Cretans, led by their great statesman Venizelos, unanimously demanded inclusion in the Greek kingdom and the powers sanctioned the change (1913).

During the last fifty years several attempts had been made in Turkey to replace the autocratic rule of the Sultan by some form of constitutional government. In 1879 *The Young Turks*, the Sultan permitted his Grand Vizier Midhat to summon an elected assembly; but nothing came of it, and Midhat was exiled.

In 1908 the army whose headquarters were at Salonica revolted, and appointed a provisional government headed by Enver Bay and Mahmoud Chefket Pasha. The ruling clique called themselves the Young Turks and their governing organisation The Committee of Union and Progress. They marched on Constantinople, deposed the Sultan, and set up what purported to be a constitutional government. The change was welcomed in Europe by Liberal opinion; but it was soon apparent that the Young Turks were not less reactionary than the old, so far at any rate as the treatment of Christian minorities was concerned, and that their government was no better than its predecessor, whether in honesty, efficiency or toleration. They soon fell under the influence of Germany, by now busily engaged in building the Baghdad railway and eager to exploit the riches of Asia Minor.

It will be remembered that in 1878 Bosnia and Herzegovina

had been entrusted to the administration of Austria. She now, in 1908, formally annexed the two provinces. *Bosnia.* At the same time Ferdinand of Bulgaria threw off the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan and assumed the title of Czar. The Turks appealed to the Concert of Europe. Russia, backed by France and England, made a vigorous protest. But the German Emperor, the "friend in shining armour," as he styled himself, plainly intimated that his support of Austria did not stop short even of war. Russia, weakened by her disastrous war with Japan, and distracted by disorders at home, was in no condition to take up arms: France and England had no mind to go to war over a Balkan dispute which did not gravely menace the interests of either nation. So the three Entente powers, after a solemn protest against the breach of the Berlin Treaty, acquiesced in the new arrangement. Germany had won a great diplomatic victory.

In 1912 Venizelos, now prime minister of Greece, succeeded in uniting Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria in an alliance against Turkey, which Montenegro also joined. In June *The Balkan War.* war was declared. Macedonia and Thrace were overrun, the Turks defeated at Lule Burgas, Salonica and Adrianople taken. A conference held in London put an end to the war and the spoil was divided according to the treaty already made. But Bulgaria was dissatisfied because Serbia claimed a larger share of Macedonia than the agreement provided. This she did because she had been deprived of Albania by the joint action of Austria and Italy, who would not allow the Serbs to have access to the Adriatic. Serbia proposed to refer the dispute to the arbitration of Czar Nicholas, but Bulgaria refused and made a treacherous attack on the Greeks and Serbians. The attack was defeated, and as Rumania intervened Bulgaria was forced to submit. By the Treaty of Bucharest she lost Eastern Thrace to Turkey, Western Thrace to the Greeks, who also got Salonica; Silistria and a slice of Danubian territory went to Rumania, more of Macedonia to Serbia. Thus at the opening of 1914 the Balkan

position was as follows:—Greece in possession of Salonica and Thrace to the Maritza: Turkey still holding eastern Thrace, the last remnant of her former empire in Europe: Serbia in possession of most of Macedonia,¹ but regarded by Austria with hatred and mistrust as a possible rallying point for her own Slav malcontents, and excluded from the Adriatic by independent Albania, Bulgaria deprived of all her gains and sullenly awaiting her opportunity for revenge. Serbia and Greece had a defensive alliance but were not really on good terms.

We have emphasised the influence exercised on the great powers by Colonial, African, Turkish and Eastern affairs. *The Balance of Power.* But these questions only partially account for the position. The real pivot on which everything turned was the old principle of the balance of power: and, as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so in the early twentieth the deciding factor was Great Britain.

The centre of the diplomatic struggle is to be found in the German Empire, newly united under the guidance of Count Bismarck, whose policy, after 1871, was guided by two considerations: (1) Dread of a war of revenge by France for the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. As early as 1875 he contemplated a "preventive" war against that country, which had recovered too quickly, as he thought, from the disasters of 1870. But his plan was frustrated by the intervention of Queen Victoria and the Czar of Russia. (2) The fear of Russian aggression from the east, which may be regarded as an instinctive survival in the German mind of the fear engendered by the Slav invasions of the Middle Ages. Thus his aim was to keep France weak and isolated, and either to cultivate friendly relations with Russia, or to conclude a defensive alliance against her.

First he formed the League of the Three Emperors, Germany, Austria and Russia. But after 1878 Austria was jealous of the increase of Russian influence in the Balkans, while Russia was displeased because Bismarck ("the honest

¹ Macedonia was partitioned, north to Serbia, south to Greece, south east to Bulgaria.

broker") had not given her whole-hearted support at the Congress of Berlin. Accordingly he concluded in 1879 the Dual Alliance with Austria, by which each power bound herself to support the other in case of a war with Russia, France, or the two combined. This treaty was renewed at triennial intervals and was in full force in the summer of 1914. It may be mentioned that at a somewhat later date he made a reinsurance treaty with Russia in the event of an attack from Austria. In 1882 Italy, on bad terms with France owing to the annexation of Tunis, joined the central powers in the Triple Alliance, which did not supersede the Dual Alliance but was supplementary to it. By this instrument Italy was to get the support of Germany and Austria in the event of a war with France. In return Italy agreed to support Germany in a *defensive* war against France or Russia but gave no promise of support to Austria unless she was attacked by *two* powers. Rumania, as is now known, joined the alliance in 1883 in a modified form. This treaty also was renewed at intervals, but up to 1914 its exact provisions were unknown, though the most important clauses of the Dual Alliance were published at Berlin and Vienna in 1888.

For some years after 1870 France was isolated in Europe. This was partly due to the dislike of the republican form of government felt by the monarchical states, partly to a very natural doubt as to its permanence.

With Great Britain she had many causes of friction all over the world, causes that twice brought the two nations to the brink of war; Russia was her only possible ally. By 1885 the Republic had proved its moderation and its stability. It had given France, on the whole, in spite of certain scandals, a better government than she had had in the past—the country was peaceful, prosperous and wealthy. At last in 1891 French statesmen succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Czar Nicholas II., which in 1894 assumed the character of an alliance. This Dual Alliance, or Dual Entente, as it is usually called, bound each power to come to the aid of the other in case of attack by a

*Entente
France and
Russia.*

third power (obviously Germany). It will be noticed that all these three treaties contemplated a war of *defence* only.

In face of these alliances Great Britain's position was one of "splendid isolation." She maintained friendly relations with Germany, encouraged her colonial aspirations and on several occasions came near to joining the Triple Alliance, notably in 1890 at the time of the Zanzibar-Heligoland agreement.

With France her relations were correct but hardly cordial. Gradually, however, causes of suspicion arose between England and Germany. Bismarck resigned in 1891, shortly after the accession of Wilhelm II., 1888. The new Kaiser and his advisers adopted a showy and provocative policy.

The telegram of congratulation to President Kruger in 1897, at the time of the Jameson Raid, caused a natural, though perhaps hardly justifiable, irritation in England. There was friction in the South African War over the right of search for contraband of war. A widespread agitation in favour of a great navy, encouraged by the authorities, found its fulfilment in a series of Acts which by 1912 raised the German Navy to the second place after Great Britain. The natural vexation of an old firm at the pushing activities of a rival in trade was aggravated by an uneasy suspicion that the German fleet could only be intended to challenge British supremacy at sea. Thus the force of circumstances tended to drive France and Great Britain together.

In 1904 Lord Lansdowne and King Edward VII. concluded with France the "*Entente Cordiale*." Nominally this was an *The Entente Cordiale* agreement between the two powers to examine and adjust their differences all over the world, e.g. the Newfoundland fisheries dispute. France recognised Britain's special interests in Egypt, Britain those of France in Morocco. No undertaking of military support was given or expected on either side; but mention was made of military conversations. Some few years afterwards, when Britain altered the distribution of her fleet and weakened her Mediterranean squadron, an arrangement was made by which France

looked after Britain's interests in the Mediterranean, Britain undertook the defence of the French coast and French interests in the Channel and North Sea.

Through the good offices of France a similar entente was concluded with Russia in 1907. Spheres of influence were delimited in Persia, and the Russian Government disclaimed any intention of interfering in Afghanistan. Here also no military undertaking was given on either side. But the position was inevitably changed. The Triple Entente faced the Triple Alliance and, though the balance of power might maintain peace for a time, sooner or later a conflict was inevitable.

Entente between Great Britain and Russia.

After 1904 the German Foreign Office embarked on a series of manœuvres calculated to test the strength of the Entente. Thus in 1905 the Kaiser, in a speech delivered at Tangier, posed as the protector of the Moslems and, in effect, challenged the special position of France in Morocco. German pressure compelled the resignation of Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister who was responsible for the Entente. In 1906, at the instance of Germany, a conference on Moroccan affairs was held at Algeçiras, where, though the majority of the powers supported France, she was forced to give certain undertakings which materially narrowed her freedom of action. Austria's annexation of Bosnia in 1908 constituted a further challenge to the Entente, and the curt rejection of its protest resulted in a great increase of the prestige of the Central Powers. In 1911 occurred the "Agadir incident." The German Government sent a gunboat, the *Panther*, to Agadir, a port on the southern Morocco coast, ostensibly to defend the interests of her nationals, but really to challenge for a second time the whole position of France in Morocco. But the British Government sent a cruiser to watch the *Panther*, and gave it quite clearly to be understood that Britain would not stand by while Germany crushed France.

On several occasions Great Britain approached the German government with proposals for a "naval holiday," but without success. In 1912 Lord Haldane went to Berlin (unofficially)

to sound Germany as to the possibility of an agreement on this and other points, but the German proposals were quite impossible of acceptance and nothing resulted.

A few other incidents that occurred during the years 1900 to 1914 may be briefly alluded to. In 1908 a revolution took place at Lisbon. The king was assassinated, the royal family expelled, and a republic set up. But the new government has had only a modified success. The early years of the twentieth century, so full of wars and rumours of wars, saw also a promising *The Hague* attempt to prevent war. At the instance of the Czar *Conferences*, a conference was held at the Hague (1898) attended by representatives of all the civilized nations. Proposals were discussed for the extension of arbitration in international disputes, for the limitation of armaments, and for the further humanising of the laws of war. A second congress was held in 1907. A committee was appointed to propose modifications of the law of contraband and the right of capture at sea. Their report was accepted by most of the sea powers, but was never ratified by any of them: nevertheless the British Government in 1914 expressed its intention to abide by it, and did so till in 1915 it was found that the regulations made an effectual blockade impossible. So Great Britain not only repudiated the Declaration, but applied in full severity the ancient rights of search and confiscation which she had abandoned at the Paris Conference. Paper stipulations as usual gave way under the stern pressure of necessity.

In 1914 was completed the enlargement of the Kiel Canal, extending from the Baltic to the North Sea, constructed some time before, so as to accommodate the largest battleships. This practically doubled the effective strength of the German navy. During the years preceding 1914 the British Government modified the distribution of their fleet, withdrawing the most powerful units from the Mediterranean and concentrating in the North Sea. In 1912 Germany increased her active army by about 200,000 men. France retaliated by raising the period of service from two to three years. The lists were set for the impending combat.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE GREAT WAR

(a) THE WAR

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J. B. Scott, *Diplomatic Documents*.

THE year 1914 opened quietly. The Balkan troubles were over for the time, and no acute points of difference had arisen anywhere that seemed likely to lead to hostilities. *Causes of the* England was absorbed in the affairs of Ireland, *War*. where the resistance of Ulster to the new measure of Home Rule bade fair to lead to civil war.

France was quiet but watchful; she had almost abandoned the dream of a war of *revanche*, but the mass of moderate opinion in the country, influenced by the events of the previous years, regarded a life and death struggle with Germany as, sooner or later, inevitable. There were none of those flamboyant outbursts of chauvinism that had marked the summer of 1870; rather a sober resignation, a feeling that if war must come it were better to get it over once and for all.

In Germany the attitude of public opinion was very different. Even in the summer of 1913 the American ambassador noted the strength of the war fever in Berlin. Actual determination to precipitate a conflict was probably confined to the higher military and political circles; but the people generally, at any rate the educated majority in the cities, were possessed by two emotions, both equally dangerous. First, a nervous fear of encirclement, that "dread of a coalition" of which Bismarck speaks. Second, a boundless self-confidence, a firm faith in the greatness of Germany and its people, a fervent belief that it was the destiny of the Fatherland to inherit the earth and rule over the "lesser breeds", withal a bitter feeling that other nations were in league to prevent their accomplishing their self-appointed task. Here too we may note the influence of the Prussian historical school, (though Treitschke, its chief exponent, was a Saxon). Briefly stated it is this. The highest aim of the state is power. War is its highest activity. Prussia had been made by her wars. Germany had been unified by "blood and iron." So war was elevated into a great instrument of state. "Of all political weaknesses, feebleness is the most criminal." So, too, in other writers we find war elevated into a duty. "A good war," says Nietzsche, "hallows every cause." Not only did this teaching popularise the ideas of the State as an idol and of war as a moral duty, but it also fostered the opinion, so well illustrated in Bernhardt's famous book, that all forms of severity and violence towards the civilian population were justified if they served to weaken the enemy's determination and to shorten the war. That the military party had determined on war seems certain; their preparations were complete; on June 23 the Kiel Canal was opened; only a pretext was needed; and that pretext was provided—ready to their hand.

On June 28 the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, was assassinated at Serajevo by two Bosnians. *The Outbreak of the War.* There is no proof that the Serbian government had any knowledge of the plot; what evidence we have points in the other direction; indeed many hold that the deed was

planned at Vienna or Buda-Pest. For a time nothing happened. But it is known that an important meeting of high military and political personages was held in Berlin on July 5, and it is believed that war was then decided on. On July 23 Austria-Hungary presented an ultimatum to Serbia. The demands were such as it was hard for a sovereign power to accede to without loss of self-respect. Nevertheless the Serbians, acting on Russian advice, accepted nine out of ten of them and offered to go to arbitration on the tenth. At the same time they appealed to the Entente powers for protection; but Austria refused to treat and demanded unconditional compliance. The Entente powers made great efforts to bring about a compromise; Germany, when appealed to, pretended to be trying to hold back Austria, but in reality urged her on. It is certain, in spite of German denials at the time, that the Austrian note was known and approved beforehand, if not actually framed, at Berlin. On July 28 Austria declared war on Serbia and two days later occupied Belgrade. On the 29th Russia mobilised her southern forces. Next day a series of telegrams passed between the Kaiser and the Czar, as a result of which a "state of war" was proclaimed in Berlin. Twenty-four hours later Sir Edward Grey's proposal for a conference was contemptuously rejected by Berlin, after which all the powers concerned rapidly completed their mobilisation.

On August 1 Germany declared war on Russia and issued an ultimatum to Paris demanding a pledge of neutrality, which of course was refused. On August 3 she declared war on France, and on the 4th on Belgium, who had refused to allow German troops to pass unhindered through her territory. On the same day Great Britain, who had declined to pledge herself to help France, but had undertaken to safeguard her Channel Coasts, made the same demand for a recognition of the neutrality of Belgium which she had made in 1870. Germany refused, so Britain threw in her lot with the nations opposed to the Central Empires.

The neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed by the

great powers jointly and severally in 1839, that of Luxemburg *Great Britain* jointly in 1867, and Prussia was a party to both *Intervenes.* these treaties.

But even apart from the question of Belgian neutrality intervention was forced on Great Britain. The naval menace had impressed her people. The open declarations of German spokesmen that they aimed at world power and supremacy at sea, the series of brusque challenges delivered to France during the previous nine years, all went to prove that war must come. To stand aloof was to await inevitable ruin, and that without honour and without allies. Moreover the integrity and independence of the Low Countries had for four centuries been the cardinal principle of England's foreign policy. Each time that a single power, Austria-Spain in the sixteenth century, Bourbon France in the seventeenth and eighteenth, Napoleon in the nineteenth, had threatened to overthrow the balance of power, England had intervened to preserve it, and each time her efforts had centred in the defence of the Low Countries.

Other powers came in later. Turkey joined Germany in November 1914. She had, as is now known, joined the Triple Alliance earlier in the year. Italy declared war on Austria in May 1915, moved by the desire to acquire her "unredeemed" provinces. Japan joined the Allies on 23rd August 1914 in accordance with the terms of her alliance with Great Britain. America came in on the same side in April 1917. Soon nearly all the powers of the world were involved; China, Portugal, many South American republics, even Siam took a hand. From first to last over thirty million men were under arms. The struggle raged from the South Pacific to the Arctic Ocean. It spread right round the world.

Great Britain held the sea securely, but could only muster six divisions of infantry and one of cavalry for immediate service in France. She promptly took steps, however, to raise a national army. Nearly four million men voluntarily enlisted, a number unprecedented in history. She appealed, too, to her Dominions, who all responded with zeal. It is pretty

certain that the Germans did not expect that Great Britain would fight, and if she did, they believed that she would be paralysed by rebellion in Ireland, in Egypt, and in India, and by divisions at home. Neither did they ever dream that the Dominions and India would make so magnificent a response to her appeal for aid.

Our sketch of the fighting can be but the merest outline, and it seems better in the interests of clearness to deal with the campaigns by area and not by time.

The German armies massed on the line from Aix-la-Chapelle to Strassburg, threatening Belgium and Luxemburg as well as the French frontier proper along the Vosges from *The Western* Longwy to Belfort. The French General Staff *Front.* had based their concentration plans on the belief that only this frontier would be attacked, and the change of front caused some delay and confusion. Happily the resistance of the Belgian troops about Liège gave them time to recast their plans; troops were hurried northwards, and the first contact took place on the line of the Sambre and Meuse. Here the British army joined them, taking post at the extreme left of the line about Mons.

The German strategic idea was to outflank the Allies' left and force them away south-eastwards, east of Paris, while the army of Metz held, or (if possible) broke, the French right and centre. Thus the Allied line might be rolled up against the Vosges, defeated, perhaps surrounded, and compelled to surrender. On August 23 the first and second German armies drove the French from Charleroi. The British repulsed an attack of thrice their numbers, but were outflanked and had to retreat so as to keep touch with the French. The whole Allied left and centre swung back, pivoting on Verdun, till it was behind the Marne. North-east France was lost, and was not recovered for four years. Meantime the Metz army had beaten de Castelnau at Morhange but suffered a costly repulse at the Grand Couronné in front of Nancy.

Behind the Marne the Allied line halted and gave battle (September 5-9). A French army issuing from Paris attacked

von Kluck's right flank and held him on the Ourcq. Their rapid march had disordered the German forces: a gap of nearly twenty miles had opened between their first and second armies, and another between the second and third. Both these were pierced, and after four days' desperate fighting they gave way and retired on the Aisne.

The battle of the Marne, though not a decisive victory, was a decisive battle. The German plan was foiled. They could no longer hope to crush France in a month and then turn east to deal with Russia at their leisure.

On the Aisne the Germans halted, dug in, and foiled all attempts to dislodge them. Then each side began to move northward, trying to outflank the other; the British forces were moved to Ypres on the Belgian frontier, that fatal salient which they were to hold so long and at such heavy cost. Gradually the gaps on both sides were filled. The lines were stabilised, and then began the long four years of stubborn trench warfare on a front that reached from the North Sea to Switzerland.

Fierce assaults were delivered at intervals by both sides, but neither could break through. In the first and second battles of Ypres the British regular army (the "old contemptibles") earned undying fame by repulsing assaults delivered by forces from two to three times more numerous, and sustained losses such as no troops had ever before suffered without giving way. But their subsequent attacks, as well as those delivered by the French farther south, proved unsuccessful, and during 1915 little or no progress was made.

As time went on the offensives grew bigger and more costly, the devices for attack and defence became more numerous, the artillery fire (heavy shells and high explosives) more intense and more deadly. Bombs, poison gas, trench mortars, hand grenades were all brought into use, while overhead aeroplanes hovered in ever increasing numbers. Yet no decisive advantage could be gained. By 1916 the new armies of Great Britain were coming into the field, and the disparity of numbers was redressed.

Two actions developed on a vast scale and lasted for months. At Verdun (1916, Feb-July) the Germans flung all their strength against the defences covering the point where the west-east line bent at a right angle and ran north and south. Its loss would have been a heavy blow to the Allies' prestige and might have broken the line of defence. But after five months' incessant struggle, at a cost of nearly half a million Germans and over 300,000 Frenchmen, Verdun still held firm. On December 15 Pétain counter-attacked, inflicting heavy losses at comparatively small cost, gained a great victory and recovered all the lost ground. Farther north on the Somme the Allies made a joint attack (July to November) on a front of nearly 50 miles, recovered a number of towns and villages (or their ruins), bent the German line back some 20 miles, but failed to break it. The losses were even heavier than at Verdun and were approximately equal on both sides, but though the German armies still held their ground, they were shaken and exhausted. In Haig's words, "The Somme had placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to attain their objects."

Two great operations were planned for the beginning of 1917. The French were to attack from Soissons to Rheims; the British were to renew the struggle on the Somme. But owing to political troubles and intrigues, a change of ministry in Great Britain and a change of high command in France, this offensive was postponed. In March the German centre behind the Somme fell back, almost without loss, to a fresh position of enormous strength, called the Hindenburg Line. The British plans were foiled, and in June the French attack, of which so much had been expected, came hopelessly to grief. This failure gave rise to a series of mutinies; French moral was seriously shaken, and for several months no great operations could be attempted. It became necessary to take the weight of enemy pressure off the French lines, and with this object in view several big operations were undertaken by the British, on the whole with considerable success. Arras, Vimy and Messines (April) were undoubted,

though not decisive, victories; farther north in the Ypres salient, the series of attacks known by the name of Passchendaele (September) cost the British over 350,000 men, and the Germans at least as many. The gain of ground was but a few square miles of mud, but it inflicted a severe shock on the moral of the German troops.

By this time (March 1917) the Russian revolution had begun. The German eastern front ceased to be important and large bodies of troops were transferred to the west; so it soon became obvious that the Allies would have to face a critical time before the great American armies, already crossing the ocean, could get into line.

On March 21, 1918, the Germans attacked with overwhelming numbers, just at the point of junction of the French and British forces not far from Cambrai. Gough's army was swept away and the allied forces were pressed back nearly to Amiens. All the gains of the previous year were lost. If Amiens had been taken the French and British armies would have been separated and German victory assured.

In April an onslaught on the Ypres salient was stemmed with difficulty, while farther south the French were forced back from the Aisne to the Marne, and Paris came under fire from long-range guns.

But the Allies rallied, Amiens was saved, and the German onslaught brought to a standstill in a position not altogether favourable for withstanding a counter-attack. In April the appointment of the French Marshal Foch as general-in-chief gave to the Allies the priceless advantage of unity of command that they had so far lacked. With unity of command came a change of tactics. The attacks were delivered simultaneously and on a wider front; they were directed against the flanks of the enemy salients, and fresh troops were poured in successively so as to give the foe no time to rally. This was made possible by the growing numerical superiority of the allied forces.

The allied attack began on July 18. The southern salient was soon forced in, the Aisne was crossed and the *Chemin des*

Dames taken by the end of August. Farther north, Haig, in a series of fierce attacks, stormed the Hindenburg Line (September 27) and began to drive the Germans back into Luxemburg and Belgium. In October the Americans attacked in force in the Argonne. The Germans still resisted stubbornly but were forced back with heavy losses. Their moral began to go and the armies to break up. The defeat of the Turks in Syria, the surrender of the Bulgarians and the collapse of Austria followed in quick succession. Early in November the revolution in Berlin finished everything. The Germans asked for terms: on November 11 the Armistice was concluded at Compiègne, and the Great World War was at an end.

Mobilising with a speed that the Germans had never imagined was possible, the Russians struck the first blow in the East by an extensive invasion of East Prussia, *The Eastern Front*. but a terrible defeat by Hindenburg at Tannenberg in the Masurian Lakes made them retire again within their own borders. Though the Austrians were in the beginning beaten on several occasions by the Russians (who had practically cleared them out of Poland) still no decisive success could be claimed on either side until Mackensen, following on an abortive attempt on the enemy's part to force the Carpathians, outflanked and routed the attacking army. Owing to defective transport and insufficient war equipment, the Russian losses in this great drive were colossal. But the ineffectiveness of the Austrian troops prevented any real German success in this sector, and when in August 1916, Roumania at length joined the Allies and invaded Transylvania there seemed a prospect of their at last attaining a big success. But the hope was doomed to disappointment: the victorious Mackensen repeated his brilliant victory of the year before, and Roumania was knocked out in a single round. Worse was to come; in 1917 the Russian revolution caused the complete disintegration of its armies, and Germany might have occupied Petrograd if she had been so disposed. Instead she concluded with the Bolsheviks the Treaty of Brest

Litovsk (February 1918), and Russia withdrew from the war. In March, Roumania submitted, thus handing over to the Germans the command of the Black Sea with the ports of Constanza and Odessa. The non-Russian fringes on the west managed, in the general chaos, to secure a precarious independence and Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania reappeared as separate states.

The Italians in the summer of 1915 attacked northward into the Trentino, eastward over the Isonzo River, and had *Italian* some success in both directions, though at a *Front.* heavy cost. In 1916 after repulsing a great Austrian onslaught from the Trentino they made some progress towards Trieste; but in October 1917 they met with a disaster on the eastern front. Their armies were surprised at Caporetto and thrown back on the line of the Piave with enormous losses of men and guns. Here, helped by British and French reinforcements, they stood fast. After frustrating an Austrian attempt to cross the river, in the late summer of 1918 they resumed the offensive. Austria collapsed and Italy was left mistress of the territory up to the Alpine watershed northward and eastward.

In the autumn of 1914 the entry of Turkey into the war closed the Dardanelles and cut off communications with *Gallipoli,* Russia. In 1915 after failing to force the *Egypt,* Dardanelles with their fleet alone, the Allies *Palestine.* landed an army, mainly British and Australian, on the south end of Gallipoli. But the delay had given the Turks time to entrench very strongly, and for some months a trench warfare was carried on in which the invaders barely held their own. Once at Suvla Bay (August 15) they were within sight of success, but faulty staff work and insufficient training of their troops compelled a retreat. The force was finally withdrawn at the end of the year without loss (a wonderful achievement) and the troops were transferred to Salonica in the vain hope of succouring the hard-pressed Serbians, who were now in desperate case. The Austrians, after two unsuccessful invasions, backed up by Germany and

supported by Bulgaria, finally overran the whole of Serbia in the autumn of 1915. Against this attack the allied forces at Salonica, hampered by the equivocal attitude of Greece, were powerless to render any adequate assistance, and the shattered relics of the Serbian army, escaping to the Adriatic through Albania, were drafted off to Corfu to reorganise and refit: how well this object was attained was proved by their heroic co-operation in the capture of Monastir about a year later. Though the Salonica expeditionary force eventually exceeded 200,000 men and Venizelos ultimately succeeded in bringing in Greece on the side of the Allies, they were unable, until the closing stages of the war, to make much progress. But in October 1918 the Bulgarian resistance at last gave way, and the road to the north lay open.

Egypt, the most vulnerable point in British communications, was never seriously threatened, apart from a Turkish reconnaissance in force on the Canal, which was easily repulsed. Later, Palestine was invaded by British troops, but a serious check at Gaza (April 1917) stopped the advance for some months. In October Allenby again moved forward, beat the Turks at Beersheba, and took Jerusalem (December 9). In 1918 he renewed the offensive. By a masterly use of his cavalry he outflanked, surrounded and dispersed the Turkish forces, occupied all Palestine and Syria, and captured Damascus and Aleppo (September-October 1918). The Turks, already severely handled in Mesopotamia, sued for peace.

Mesopotamia was invaded in 1915 by a force drawn almost entirely from India. The original object was to safeguard the port of Basra and the oilfields, and perhaps to stop the spread of German propaganda into Persia and Afghanistan; but as often happens, the troops were drawn on to advance far inland. The surrender of Townshend's army of 8,000 men at Kut el Amara, though after a desperate resistance, was a great blow to British prestige in the East, in spite of his victories there and at Ctesiphon, which preceded the siege. Later Maude took Bagdad and drove the Turks from the country in a brilliant campaign, marred by his untimely death; but the

Mesopotamian expedition, as well as others in out-of-the-way corners, came in for much heavy criticism. Against this must be put the opinion of many qualified experts, that they broke the Turkish and Bulgarian resistance and thus brought nearer the end of the war.

Colonial Campaigns were dominated by the fact that the British Fleet commanded the sea. In 1915 expeditions from Australia and New Zealand took all the German Pacific Islands, and a joint force of French and British conquered Togoland. In 1916 they captured the Kameruns. In South Africa Louis Botha, after crushing a rebellion of the Dutch nationalists, cleared out German S.W. Africa in a masterly campaign; but in East Africa the struggle was longer. At first the British troops, mainly Indian, were outnumbered and suffered several defeats. Then, as reinforcements came in from South Africa, General Smuts gradually wore down the German resistance. The province was overrun, but von Lettow Vorbeck, with a small force of native Askaris, held out in the south and did not surrender till late in 1918.

From the outset the British Fleet held command of the sea German commerce was wiped out, and a blockade was established, the completeness of which was only limited by political considerations. The expeditionary force was landed in France without the loss of a ship or a man, nor were its communications across the Channel ever seriously menaced, even by the submarine dangers of 1916-17. In the early months of the war several British cruisers were torpedoed by submarines, but the losses grew less frequent as time went on. A few raiding cruisers, notably the *Emden* and *Dresden*, plundered and sank a good many merchant ships, but they were soon run down; the *Emden* off the Cocos Islands, the *Dresden* off Chili. Later on several converted merchantmen escaped the blockade and did some damage, but the losses in surface warfare were trifling in comparison with those suffered at the hands of privateers in the Napoleonic wars; even after Trafalgar, when British command of the sea is usually thought to have been most complete. Of fleet-actions,

even of single-ship contests, there were comparatively few. In 1914 (November 1) Von Spee, with the German cruiser-squadron, caught and defeated Admiral Cradock off Coronel in Chili, only one British ship escaping; but this defeat was soon avenged. Admiral Sturdee, taking with him two powerful armoured cruisers from the main battle fleet, surprised Von Spee off the Falkland Islands (December 7, 1914) and sank four out of five of his ships almost without loss. In both these engagements it was proved, as in the Russo-Japanese war, that superiority in speed and gun-fire, under the changed modern conditions, meant not merely defeat, but annihilation for the weaker side. In the North Sea in 1915, German raiding squadrons shelled Hartlepool, Scarborough and Yarmouth. Only two cruiser actions took place, off the Dogger Bank and in the Bight of Heligoland, in both of which the Germans lost heavily. But decisive actions in the narrow seas were rendered very difficult owing to the existence of extensive minefields off the enemy coast, behind which his main forces took refuge.

Only one first-class naval engagement was fought during the whole war. On May 1, 1916 the German High Seas Fleet sailed from Wilhelmshafen and cruised northward *Battle of* towards the Skagerrack. In the afternoon they *Jutland*. were sighted by Admiral Beatty, who was in command of the British squadron of battle cruisers. A running fight ensued in which the British lost two ships—blown up. But Beatty, by steering north, succeeded in drawing the whole German Fleet within reach of the British Grand Fleet, hurrying down from the north-west. Not until 6 P.M. was contact established between the two main fleets, but owing to night-fall and thick weather the engagement was broken off between 7 and 8 P.M., though isolated encounters between the lighter craft continued for some hours. The greater part of the British Battle Fleet was never seriously engaged. During the night the Germans managed to escape and regain their harbours. The losses on both sides were fairly heavy—more so perhaps on the British side. Tactically, therefore, the

battle was drawn, but strategically the British gained a complete victory. Never again did the German High Seas Fleet challenge them to combat, or even venture out to sea, save in the last scene of surrender at Scapa Flow.

During the last two years of the war, apart from the submarine peril, which might be compared with the danger from frigates and privateers in earlier wars (but was far more serious), British command of the seas was absolute.

But the menace of the submarine was a very real one. In February 1915 the Germans proclaimed a blockade of the British Isles. In the following year they extended the area to the whole of the narrow seas and proceeded to sink all the trading vessels they could catch; neither passenger vessels nor even hospital ships were spared. The *Lusitania* was sunk off the coast of Ireland (May 1915) with the loss of a thousand souls; and the *Sussex* was blown up in mid-Channel though she carried many neutrals. The loss of these two ships, though attended by the loss of many lives, brought to the Allies one great advantage—it forced America into the war.

In 1917 the destruction of shipping was so serious that there was grave danger of famine, in the United Kingdom especially. It even seemed likely for a short time that Great Britain would be forced to come to terms; for without supplies from overseas she could maintain neither her armies nor her civilian population. Happily, by means of the convoy system, by which the transatlantic shipping was guarded by fast destroyers, by the use of nets, mines, depth-charges, patrols of airships and aeroplanes, and by the employment of swarms of motor patrol-boats in the narrow seas the danger was averted. German losses of submarines were very heavy and in consequence the moral of their crews steadily deteriorated.

In these operations the assistance of the American navy was invaluable. Besides helping enormously in convoy and patrol-duty they sent also a squadron of battleships to join the Grand Fleet, though it was never in action. Moreover they laid

down the great mine-barrage from Norway to Scotland, designed to stop the exit of the submarines.

The War in the Air.—At the beginning of the war flying was still in the experimental stage. Each side had a few small squadrons of aeroplanes which were found very useful for purposes of reconnaissance. The German Zeppelins were the most efficient type of airships, but the use made of them at first was not great. The development of air-power, however, was rapid. Within twelve months both sides were employing great fleets of armed aeroplanes, and duels to the death between airmen were frequent. London, Paris, and the great munition centres were raided, and much material damage was done. In London alone some 500 people were killed; not a great number, truly, but enough to shake the nerves of the civilian population, though, with one notable exception, there was little panic: on the whole the damage done was surprisingly small. In 1918 the Allies at length gained the upper hand in this department of warfare, and if the war had continued a few months longer the German centres of population would have suffered in their turn: even Berlin would not have escaped. As it was, enough harm was done to show how great will be the danger to the unarmed civilian population in future wars, how great the risk that by new methods of attack the whole civilisation of a country, or even of the world, may be wiped out.

During the war there were two changes of Ministry in Great Britain. Early in 1915 the Liberals and Conservatives formed a Coalition after the precedent of 1794 for the purpose of prosecuting the war, while in December 1916 Asquith gave way to Lloyd George as head of a fresh Coalition. A Sub-Committee of the Cabinet was kept in permanent session, charged with the duty of dealing with crises as they arose—a sort of Committee of public safety; a Defence of the Realm Act gave powers of summary action to the executive as wide as those it possessed under the repressive code which Pitt completed in 1795.

In France changes of Ministry were more numerous:

Viviani, Briand, Ribot, Painlevé and Clémenceau succeeded each other in turn. In the field on the French side Joffre gave way to Nivelle, Nivelle to Pétain, Pétain to Foch: while Haig succeeded French as Commander-in-chief of the British forces. It was Clémenceau and Lloyd George as ministers, Foch and Haig as commanders, who carried the war to its triumphant end.

Of international agreements we may mention: (1) The Convention of 1914 by which the powers bound themselves not to negotiate separately or make a separate peace; (2) The Secret Treaty of London, by which the Dalmatian coast and the Adriatic islands were secured to Italy, while Russia got the reversion of Constantinople; (3) a Franco-Russian agreement (February 1917) to make Germany west of the Rhine, including Coblenz and Mayence, an autonomous state. At the end of 1916 the Germans made overtures for peace and at the same time President Wilson appealed to the powers to define their war aims; practically offering his services as mediator, though not in so many words.

In January 1918 Wilson published his famous "fourteen points" defining what he considered fair terms of peace. These became almost the charter of the New Europe. At the same time (January 5), the British Premier defined his war aims to the House of Commons. In many respects the two utterances were identical. In substance they were as follows:—Open diplomacy; freedom of the seas (to this the British Government demurred); reduction of armaments; readjustment of colonial possessions, with safeguards for native races; evacuation and restoration of Belgium, Luxemburg, Serbia and other invaded areas; restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France; freedom of the Dardanelles; autonomy of subject races of Austria-Hungary and of Turkey; independence of Poland; and generally the rearrangement of frontiers on the basis of nationality and "self-determination." A League of Nations was to be formed to see that the terms were carried out, payments for reparation of war damages were to be exacted, but no punitive indemnities. Freedom for international trade

was stipulated for. On the whole the proposals won general acceptance, but some of the terms were obscure and the Peace Conference found considerable difficulty in embodying them in a Treaty. Still, they represented broadly the lines on which peace was finally made.

During 1918 the Emperor Karl of Austria made peace overtures, which were rejected; and it has been stated, though on doubtful authority, that an attempt to come to terms was made by certain members of the British government, through intermediaries in Switzerland and at the Hague.

The terms of the armistice granted to the Germans on November 11, 1918, included evacuation of all occupied territory, the handing over of a vast amount of war material of every kind, the surrender of all submarines and of the greater part of the fleet, and the internment of the rest. All allied prisoners were to be repatriated at once, but not Germans. The Allies were to hold the line of the Rhine from Switzerland to Holland with bridgeheads at Cologne, Coblenz and Mayence, and a neutral zone was established all along the right bank into which no German troops were to enter. A number of locomotives and much transport was also to be handed over. The treaties of Brest Litovsk and Bucharest were cancelled; and it was stipulated that the blockade should continue till peace was signed. *The Armistice.*

In 1917 the autocracy of Russia was overthrown by military mutinies, and the Czar abdicated. A provisional government of a moderate type was set up; but, as is usual in revolutions, the more violent elements quickly got control and in a few months power fell into the hands of the extreme communists. Private property was abolished, the lands were distributed to the peasants, and state factories, state rationing, state housing were attempted. The Czar and his family were murdered, and so were many of the middle and upper classes. In three years the Bolshevik authorities themselves admit the execution of over 1,800,000 people. The armies melted away: Russia as an organised state no longer existed, and no Russian representatives took part in the peace negotiations. *The Russian Revolution*

In November 1918 a revolution took place in Germany. The Kaiser escaped to Holland and abdicated. All the German States deposed their rulers and a Democratic Federal Republic was established which, however, failed to gain any great popularity.

(b) THE PEACE CONFERENCE

LITERATURE.—*Texts of Treaties*, British Blue Books.

Covenant of League of Nations, British Blue Books.

Temperley, *Peace Conference at Paris*.

E. J. Dillon, *Peace Conference at Paris*.

House and Seymour, *What really happened at Paris*.

Lansing, *Peace Negotiations*.

Pollock, *League of Nations*.

Sir G. Butler, *Handbook of League of Nations*.

J. M. Keynes, *Economic Consequences of the Peace*.

So ended the Great War—"the war to end war" and "to make the world safe for democracy." A great council of the Allies met at Paris to adjust the terms of peace. It included seventy delegates from twenty-seven states, all of which had shared to some extent in the fighting. A marked departure from precedent occurred when representatives of the defeated states were excluded from the Conference and only presented themselves to hear and accept the terms imposed. The real power lay in the hands of the delegates representing the four great nations;—Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States. These were respectively Mr Lloyd George, M. Clémenceau, Signor Orlando and President Wilson—The Big Four. On their shoulders rests, whether for good or ill, the responsibility for the decisions arrived at. These decisions have been severely criticised as being too largely influenced by sentiment on the one side, by feelings of revenge and distrust on the other. But we must realise the difficulty of the task, and it must be admitted that the published war aims of January 1918 were pretty closely adhered to in framing the settlement.

A. First and foremost was drawn up the Covenant of the League of Nations, designed to maintain peace, and regulate international relations in the future. *The League of Nations.* It was to consist of:—(1) an Assembly of nations each with three representatives voting as one. Its decisions had to be unanimous. This Assembly actually met at Geneva, December 1920. Forty-one states attended. A permanent Court of International Justice was set up; also several technical committees dealing with Economics, Finance, Hygiene and Transit. (2) A Council including representatives of the great "allied and associated powers" (*i.e.* The Big Four plus Japan) and four others nominated by the Assembly. The Council was probably intended to be the Assembly's executive, but the relation between the two was not clearly defined. (3) A permanent Secretariat to prepare business for the Assembly and Council.

The enemy countries were to be admitted to the League when peace terms were fulfilled: Bulgaria and Austria were included in 1920.

The following were laid down as the Functions of the League. 1. To maintain peace, secure limitation of armaments, and provide a mutual guarantee of integrity and independence. 2. To set up machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. 3. To consider and approve all treaties, which in future must not be secret. 4. To superintend labour conditions and secure good treatment for native races. 5. To superintend "mandates"—which will be described later.

B. The territorial readjustments were as follows:—

1. Germany restored Alsace-Lorraine as before 1870, and also surrendered control of the Saar valley for fifteen years, under the League of Nations. (This was to compensate for the damage inflicted on the French coalfields.) 2. She made some trifling surrender of territory to Belgium, which also attained complete independence. 3. North and central Schleswig, Upper Silesia, and part of East Prussia were to decide their fate by plebiscite. (In South Schleswig, Silesia, and East Prussia the voting went in favour of Germany.)

4. Poland, with the old boundaries, was to be independent, Danzig to be a free port, self-governing under Poland, elaborate provisions being made for freedom of trade. 5. Austria-Hungary¹ was dismembered. Bohemia, Moravia and North Hungary became the State of Czecho-Slovakia, Transylvania went to Roumania. Carinthia, Carniola, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Croatia and Slavonia were united with Serbia under the title of Jugo-Slavia. Austria Upper and Lower, and Magyar Hungary remained as independent republics of about six million inhabitants each. 6. Turkey gave up Syria to France, Palestine and Mesopotamia to Great Britain, Macedonia, Thrace, Smyrna, and part of Asia Minor to Greece, who was also promised the Dodecanese by Italy. Arabia was recognised as independent. 7. The Adriatic arrangements were difficult, and almost broke up the conference. Finally Italy kept Rhodes, in addition to the Trentino, Trieste and Istria, and a number of Adriatic islands. Jugo-Slavia got Dalmatia, and Fiume was made a free port. 8. Bulgaria ceded Strumnitza to Serbia, part of Macedonia to Greece.

C. Other provisions of the treaties were:—

(a) Each enemy power was to pay an indemnity for all damage done. This was construed very liberally by the Finance Commission and included provision of pensions for all the allied soldiers disabled in the war. In the case of Germany the figure exceeded 6,000 millions sterling. The exaction of these indemnities has proved one of the most difficult after-problems of the war. (b) Germany had to surrender all her surviving mercantile marine, all but a small fraction of her war material, and was debarred from manufacturing any save under strict supervision: her standing army was limited to 100,000 men. (It may be noted in passing that Napoleon imposed similar restrictions on Prussia after Jena, but the result was not satisfactory.) (c) The Bosphorus, Dardanelles and Marmora were declared free to all ships and handed over to the League of Nations.

¹ The Dual Empire had already broken up through revolts of the Slav races in the autumn of 1918.

These terms were embodied in separate treaties concluded with the several enemy powers. That with Germany was signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919. Those with the other Central Powers followed after varying intervals, concluding with the (unratified) Treaty of Sevres with Turkey more than a year later. The agreement between Italy and Jugo-Slavia was concluded by the Treaty of Rapallo, November 12, 1920.

D. It was provided that ceded territories whose inhabitants were not yet considered capable of self-government should be handed over to the respective powers not as owners in fee simple, but as governors in trust *Mandates.* under the League of Nations. Under these mandates the South African Union took over German South-West Africa, Great Britain, German East Africa, save a fraction given to Belgium. Togoland and Kameruns were divided up between Britain and France. To Australia was entrusted the government of most of the Pacific Islands south of the equator, and of New Guinea; to New Zealand, Samoa; to Japan, the Marshalls, Carolines and Ladrões. To Great Britain were allotted Palestine, as a home for the Jews, subject to the rights of the indigenous Arabs; also Mesopotamia, where she undertook to create an independent state under the name of Iraq. To France went Syria, under similar conditions.

All mandates provide for the well-being of the subjects, forbid slavery or the establishment of fortified bases, establish freedom of conscience and, within limits, freedom of trade.

Such were the provisions of the treaties. It remains to indicate how far they succeeded in providing a permanent settlement. Difficulties at once arose for which the authors of the instruments can hardly be held responsible. First the American Senate refused to ratify the agreement or to join the League of Nations. France had originally wanted to annex or render independent all the occupied territory, *i.e.*, Germany west of the Rhine. She agreed to abandon her plan when America, Britain and Belgium promised to conclude with her a defensive alliance. But this too the American Senate rejected, and in consequence it was not ratified by

Great Britain. France therefore was dissatisfied. Next, Germany, now a democratic republic, found great difficulty in establishing a stable government. Her ministers, menaced by monarchist reactionaries on one side and communists on the other, could neither restore order in her finances, nor levy the taxes voted. Moreover her government was most extravagant. She therefore soon defaulted in her payments of reparations, much to the inconvenience of France, whose devastated districts needed large expenditure for their restoration. The sums imposed on Germany were considered by some critics impossibly large to pay, but they certainly did not exceed the estimates of the damage done. The fact remains that Germany paid up to the end of 1922 less than France paid in the two years following 1870. Her currency, in common with those of all the other central European states, fell to a nominal value, so that international trade was seriously crippled. This led to a wave of unemployment in the United States and Great Britain, which experts ascribed to the vagaries of exchange and then in turn to reparation payments, even going so far as to assert that the payments could not be made, and that if they were made they would ruin the recipients. Hence arose much discontent in both these countries. Further, there was a good deal of friction between the new states of south-east Europe. Hungary experienced a communist revolution, which was ruthlessly stamped out. Austria, deprived of commerce and raw materials, was reduced to destitution. A further difficulty arose from the inextricable mixture of nationalities, or perhaps of languages. In spite of all the efforts of the conference it proved impossible to avoid leaving Germans under Slavs (in Bohemia), Slavs under Italians (in Dalmatia), Ruthenians under Poles (in Galicia). The very war itself had stimulated national sentiment to an unhealthy degree. There was a tendency in each state to put needless obstacles in the way of transport and to impose high tariffs, to the detriment of trade. Russia, though gradually recovering from the anarchy into which she had fallen, was still excluded from the European circle. In

Turkey a nationalist revival expelled the Greeks from Asia Minor (1922) and threw the whole near eastern settlement into the melting-pot. A good deal of the reconstruction which had entailed so much thought and compromise was thereby jettisoned, and the whole outlook seemed black and uncertain. But all history shows that such has almost always been the outcome of great wars; what else could be expected after the greatest of all?

CHRONOLOGICAL AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES

I.—EMPERORS AND POPES

NOTE 1.—The table of Emperors is complete from Karl the Great on; the table of Popes contains only the more important names.

NOTE 2.—The names in italics are those of German kings who never made any claim to the imperial title. Those marked with an * were never actually crowned at Rome. Charles V. was crowned by the Pope, but at Bologna, not at Rome.

Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D. 314	Sylvester I. (d. 336).	Constantine (the Great), alone.	323
		Julian the Apostate.	361
		Theodosius I.	379
		Arcadius (in the East), Honorius (in the West).	395
		Theodosius II. (E.).	408
		Valentinian III. (W.).	424
440	Leo I. (the Great), (d. 461).	Romulus Augustulus (W.). (Western line ends with Romulus Augustulus, 476.)	475
		<i>[Till 800 there are Em- perors only at Constan- tinople.]</i>	
		Anastasius I.	491
		Justin I.	518
		Justinian.	527
		Justin II.	565
590	Gregory I. (the Great), (d. 604).		
715	Gregory II.		

Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
731	Gregory III.	Leo III. (the Isaurian).	718
741	Zacharias.		
752	Stephen II.		
752	Stephen III.		
772	Hadrian I.		
		Constantine VI. (Deposition of Constantine VI. by Irene, 797.) [The table gives henceforth only the Emperors of the new Western line.]	780
795	Leo III.		
		Karl the Great.	800
816	Stephen IV. (d. 817).	Ludwig I.	814
		Lothar I.	840
		Ludwig II. (in Italy).	855
872	John VIII. (d. 882).		
		Charles II. (the Bald).	875
		Charles III. (the Fat).	881
885	Stephen V.		
891	Formosus.	Guido (in Italy).	891
		Lambert (in Italy).	894
896	Boniface VI.		
896	Stephen VI. (d. 897).	Arnulf.	896
		<i>Ludwig the Child.</i>	899
		Louis III. of Provence (in Italy).	901
		<i>Conrad I.</i>	911
		Berengar (in Italy).	915
		<i>Henry I. (the Fowler).</i>	918
955	John XII.		
		<i>Otto I., King, 936; Em- peror, 962.</i>	962
963	Leo VIII. (d. 965).		
		Otto II.	973
		Otto III.	983
		Henry II. (the Holy).	1002
		Conrad II. (the Salic).	1024
		Henry III. (the Black).	1039
		Henry IV.	1056
1057	Stephen IX.		
1058	Benedict X.		
1059	Nicholas II.		
1061	Alexander II.		

Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D. 1073	Gregory VII. (Hildebrand).		A.D.
1080	(Clement, Anti-pope.)	(Rudolph of Suabia, rival.)	1077
1086	Victor III.	(Hermann of Luxemburg, rival.)	1081
1087	Urban II.		
1099	Paschal II.	(Conrad of Franconia, rival.)	1093
1118	Gelasius II.	Henry V.	1106
1119	Calixtus II. (d. 1124).		
1124	Honorius II.	Lothar II.	1125
		*Conrad III.	1138
		Frederick I. (Barbarossa).	1152
1154	Hadrian IV.		
1159	Alexander III. (d. 1181).		
1159	(Victor, Anti-pope.)	Henry VI.	1190
		*Philip of Suabia, Otto IV. (rivals).	1197
1198	Innocent III.		
		Otto IV., alone.	1208
		Frederick II.	1212
1216	Honorius III.		
1227	Gregory IX.		
1241	Celestine IV.		
1243	Innocent IV. (d. 1254).	(Henry Raspe, rival.)	1246
		(William of Holland, rival.)	1246
		*Conrad IV.	1250
		<i>Interregnum.</i>	1254
		*Richard of Cornwall and	
		*Alfonso of Castile, rivals.	1257
1271	Gregory X. (d. 1276).		
1277	Nicholas III. (d. 1281).	*Rudolf I. of Hapsburg.	1273
1294	Boniface VIII.	*Adolf of Nassau.	1292
		*Albrecht I. of Hapsburg.	1298
1303	Benedict XI.		
1305	Clement V. (who removes Papacy to Avignon).		

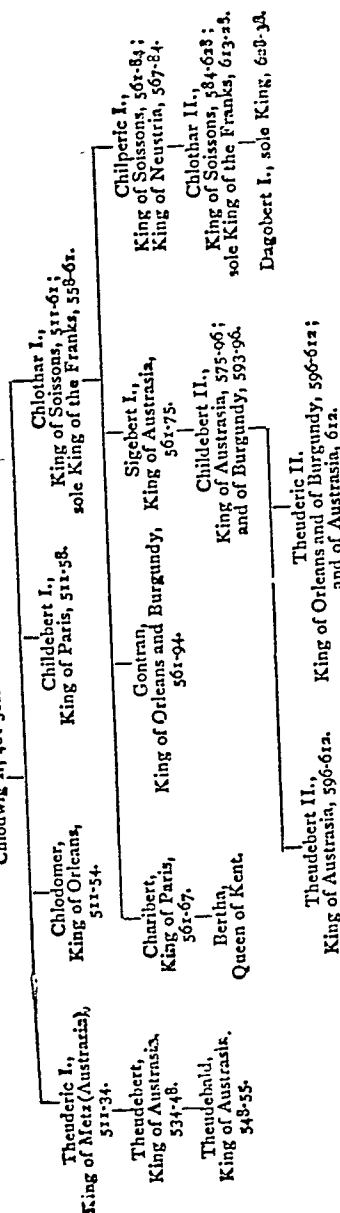
Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
1316	John XXII. (d. 1334).	Henry VII. of Luxemburg. Louis IV. of Bavaria. (Frederick of Austria, rival.)	1308 1314
1352 1362 1370	Innocent VI. Urban V. Gregory XI. (who brings Papacy back to Rome).	Charles IV. of Luxemburg. (Günther of Schwarzburg, rival.)	1347
1378	Urban VI. (Clement VI. Antipope.) [<i>Here begins the Great Schism.</i>]	*Wenzel of Luxemburg.	1378
1417 1431	Martin V. [<i>Great Schism healed.</i>] Eugenius IV.	*Rupert of the Palatinate. Sigismund of Luxemburg.	1400 1410
1447 1455 1458	Nicholas V. Calixtus IV. Pius II. (<i>Æneas Piccolomini</i>).	*Albrecht II. of Hapsburg. Frederick III. of Hapsburg.	1438 1440
1464 1471 1484 1492	Paul II. Sixtus IV. Innocent VIII. Alexander VI. (<i>Borgia</i>), d. 1503.	*Maximilian I. of Hapsburg. Charles V. of Hapsburg.	1493 1519

This table has been compiled from Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, with the kind permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

II.—THE FRANKS.

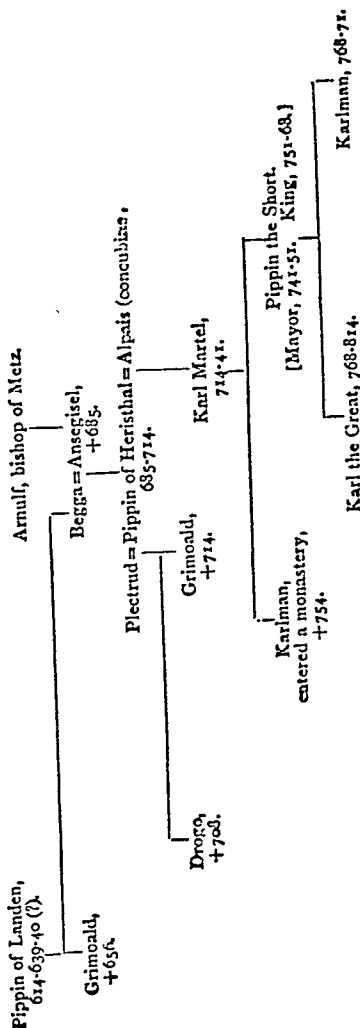
1.—THE MEROVINGIAN KINGS TO DAGOBERT I

Chlodwig I., 481-511.



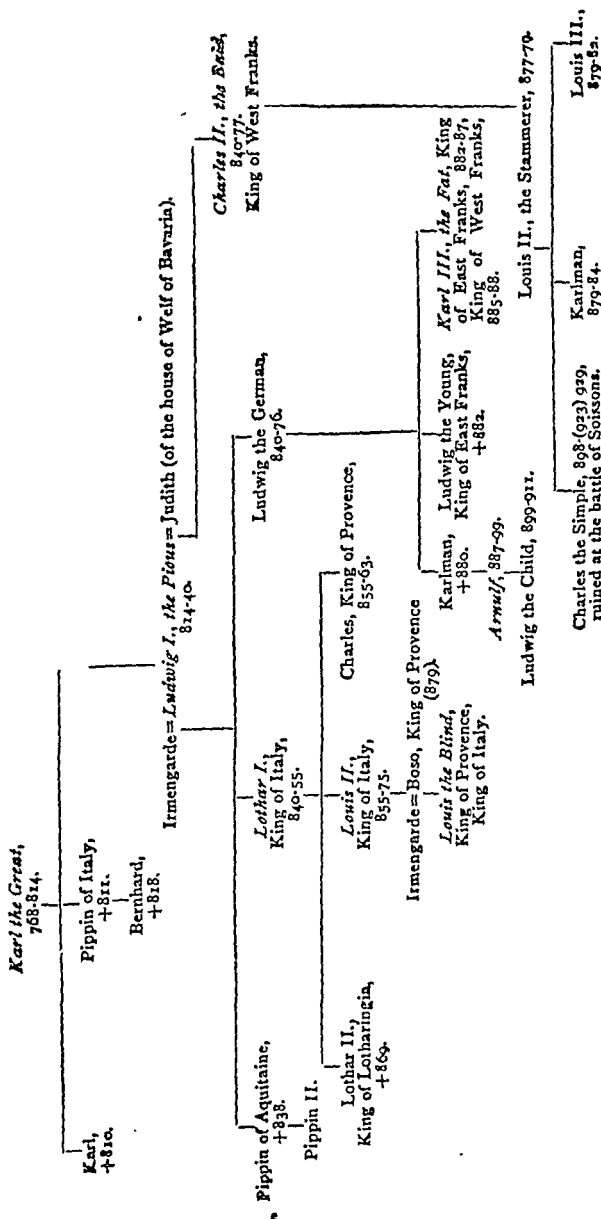
NOTE.—After Dagobert came the Donothing Kings (*rois fainçants*).

2.—THE DUKES OF AUSTRASIA (ANCESTORS OF KARL THE GREAT)



III.—THE EMPIRE.

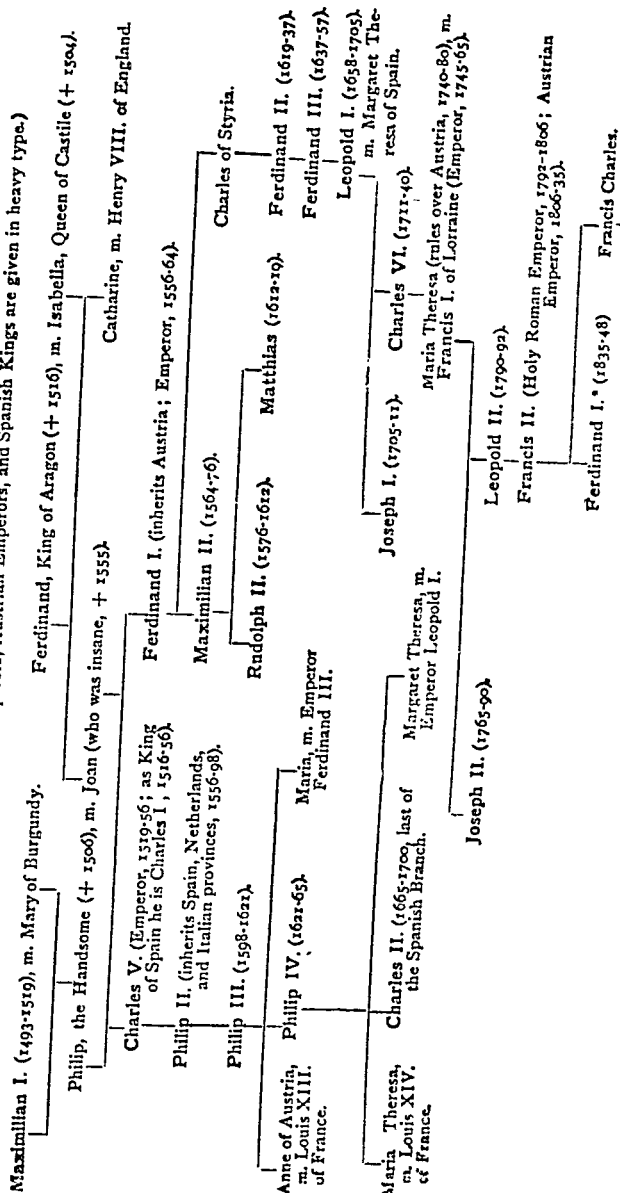
1.—THE CAROLINGIAN HOUSE (THE KARLINGS).



NOTE.—Names of Emperors in Italics.

3.—THE HOUSES OF HAPSBURG AND HAPSBURG-LORRAINE (AUSTRIA AND SPAIN)

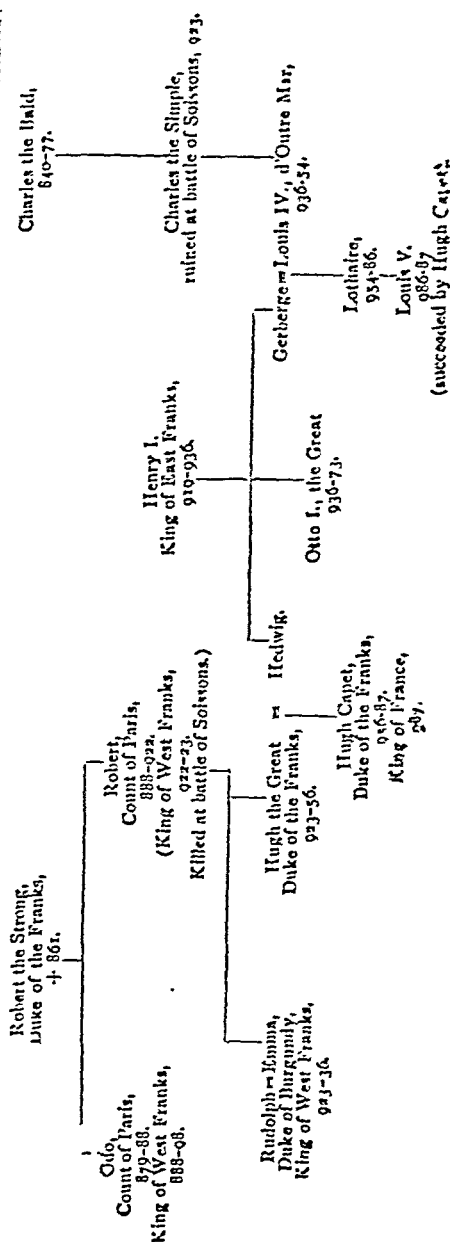
(The names of actual rulers, Holy Roman Emperors, Austrian Emperors, and Spanish Kings are given in heavy type.)



* He is the first of that name among the new Austrian Emperors.

IV.—FRANCE.

1.—LATER CAROLINGIANS AND FIRST CAPETIANS (ROBERTINES), SHOWING THEIR CONNECTION AND RIVALRY.



2.—THE CAPETIANS AND COLLATERAL BRANCHES.

CAPETIAN HOUSE.

Hugh Capet, 987-96.
 Robert the Pious, 996-1031.
 Henry I., 1031-60.
 Philip I., 1060-1108.
 Louis VI., the Fat, 1108-37.
 Louis VII., the Young, 1137-82.
 Philip II., Augustus, 1180-1223.
 Louis VIII., 1223-26.

Louis IX. (Saint Louis), 1226-70.
 Philip III., the Rash, 1270-85.
 Philip IV., the Fair, 1285-1314.

Louis X., 1314-16.
 Jeanne of Navarre.
 Charles the Bad.

Edward III.,
 King of England.
 Claimed French Crown, 1328.)
 Louis, Duke of Anjou.
 Founder of Second House of Naples.
 Louis II., + 1417.

(Charles of Maine.)
 Charles, + 1485.

Leaving Anjou and claims to Naples to Louis XI.
 Louis, Duke of Orleans.

Charles, Duke of Orleans.
 Louis XII. (1498-1515).
 Claudia.

Francis II. (1559-60), m. Mary Stuart.
 Charles IX. (1560-74).

Henry II. (1547-59), m. Catherine de' Medici.

Henry III. (1574-89).

Francis, Duke of Alençon (+ 1584).

FIRST HOUSE OF ANJOU-NAPLES.
 Charles of Anjou (who supplanted the Hohenstaufen
 in Norman Sicily or Naples), 1266-85.

Charles of Valois.

Philip VI., 1328-50.
 John II.,
 1350-64.

Charles V., the Wise, 1364-80.
 Philip, Duke of Burgundy, 1361-1404.

Charles VI., 1380-1422.
 Charles VII., 1422-61.
 Louis XI., 1461-83.

John the Fearless, 1404-19.
 Philip the Good, 1419-67.
 Charles the Bold, 1467-77.

Charles VIII., 1483-98.
 Louis, Duke of Orleans, m. Valentina, dau. of Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan.
 Mary = Maximilian of Austria.

Francis I. (1515-47).

V.—SPAIN, THE SPANISH BOURBONS.

Philip V. (1700-46), grandson of Louis XIV. of France.

Ferdinand VI.
(1746-59).

Charles III. (1759-88).

Charles IV. (1788-1808).

THE CARLIST PRETENDERS.

Ferdinand VII. (1814-33).

Don Carlos (+ 1855).

Isabella (1833-68), * m. Francis of Assis.

Don Carlos (+ 1861).

Don Juan.

Alfonso XII. (1875-85).

Don Carlos (b. 1848).

Alfonso XIII. (1886—).

* From 1868 to 1875 a rapid succession of revolutionary governments.

VI.—PRUSSIA. THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN.

John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg (1608-19). Acquires (1) Rhenish lands of Cleves and Mark (1609); (2) the Duchy of Prussia (1618).

George William (1619-40).

Frederick William (1640-88) the Great Elector.

Frederick [as Elector, Frederick III. (1688-1701); as King in Prussia he is Frederick I. (1701-13)].

Frederick William I. (1713-40).

Frederick II., called the Great (1740-86).

August William (+ 1759).

Ferdinand (+ 1812).

Frederick William II. (1786-97).

Frederick William III. (1797-1840), m. Louise of Mecklenburg.

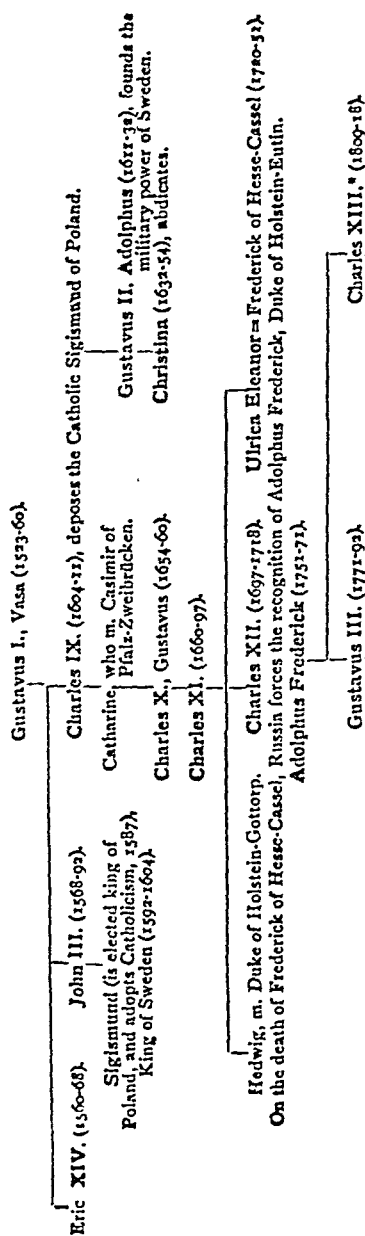
Frederick William IV. (1840-61).

William I. (1861-88), becomes German Emperor, 1871.

Frederick III. (March to June, 1888), m. Victoria of England.

William II. (1888-1918), deposed.

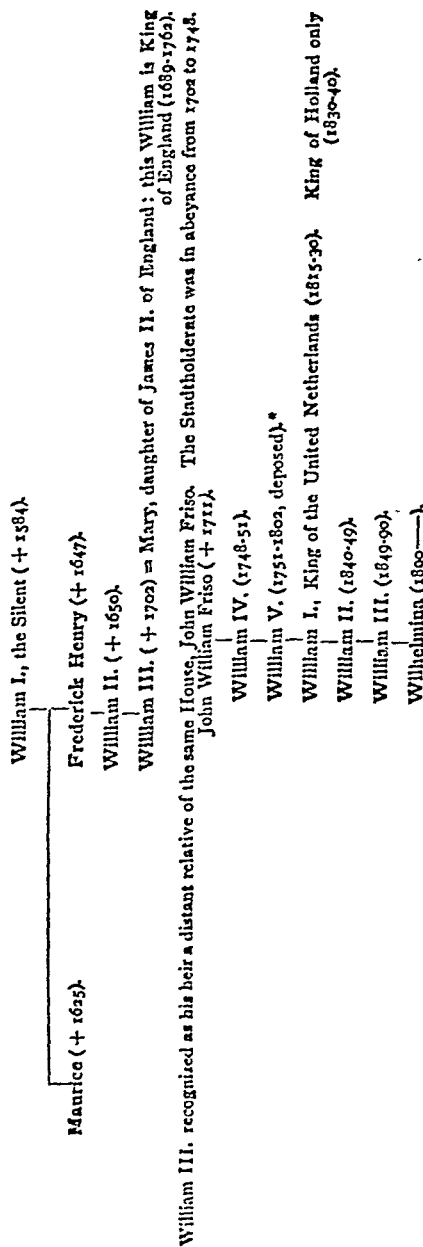
VII.—SWEDEN. THE HOUSES OF VASA AND VASA-PFALZ-ZWEIBRÜCKEN.



Gustavus Adolphus (1792-1809, deposed).

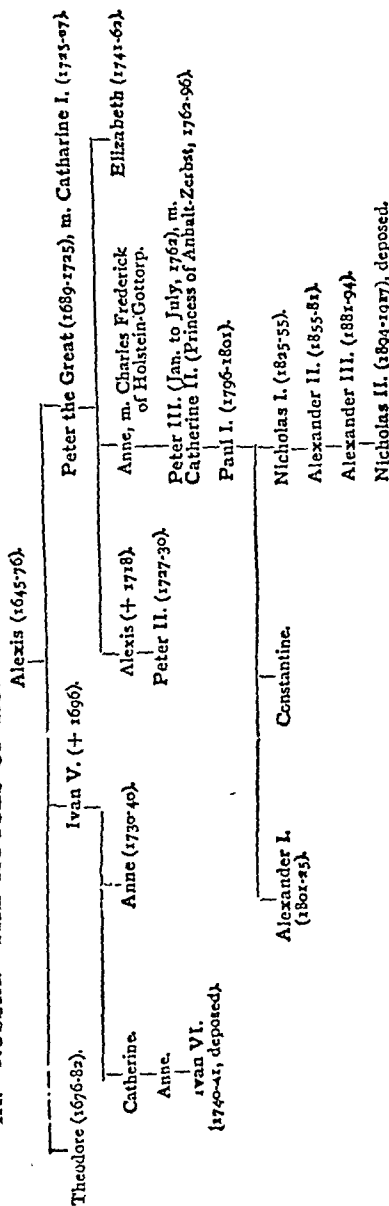
* Charles XII recognizes as his heir the French Marshal Bernadotte, who succeeds him as Charles XIV. The line of Bernadotte still rules in Sweden.

VIII.—THE DUTCH NETHERLANDS. THE HOUSE OF ORANGE-NASSAU.



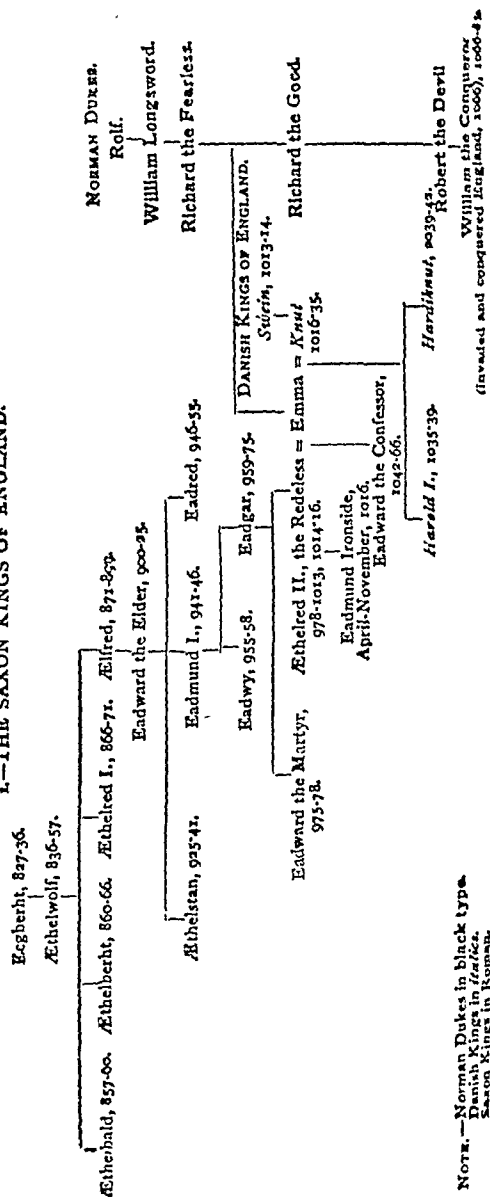
* From 1802 to 1814 the Netherlands are in the power of Napoleon.

IX.—RUSSIA. THE HOUSES OF ROMANOFF AND ROMANOFF-HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP



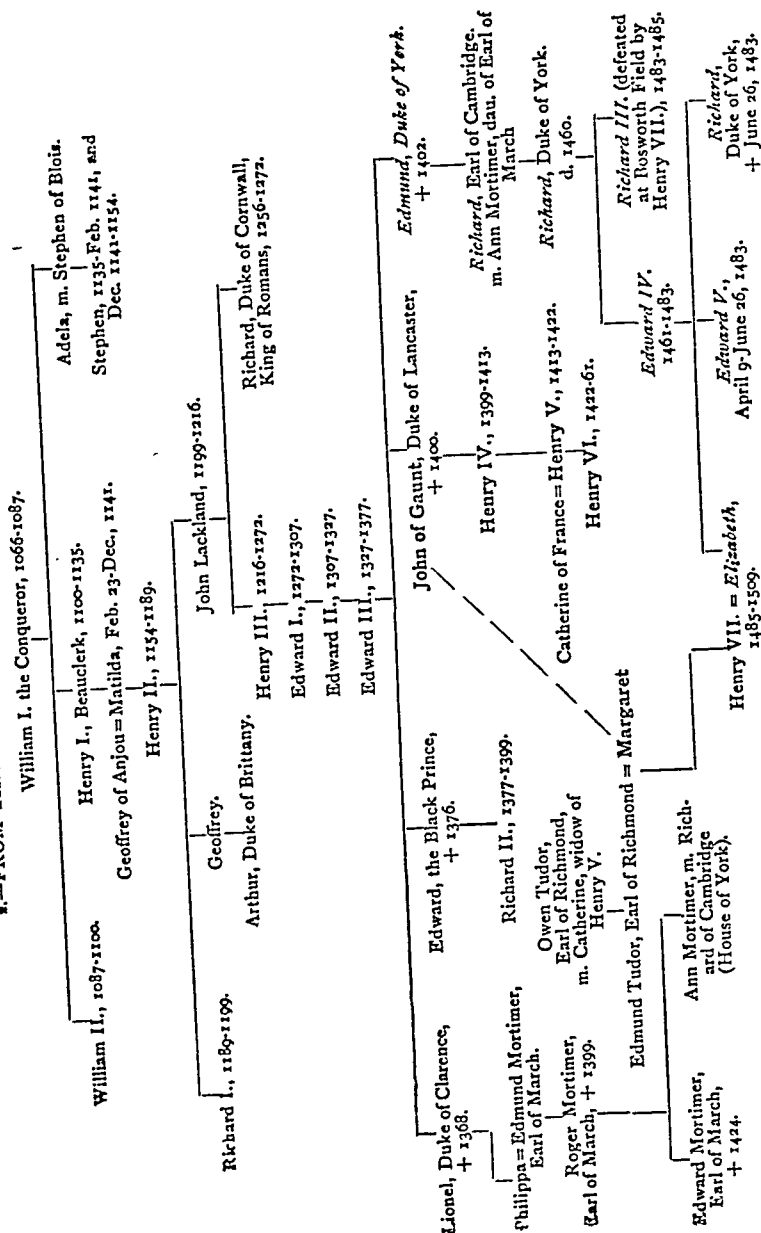
X.—ENGLAND.

1.—THE SAXON KINGS OF ENGLAND.



NOTE.—Norman Dukes in black type.
 Danish Kings in *italics*.
 Saxon Kings in Roman.

3.—FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO HENRY VII.

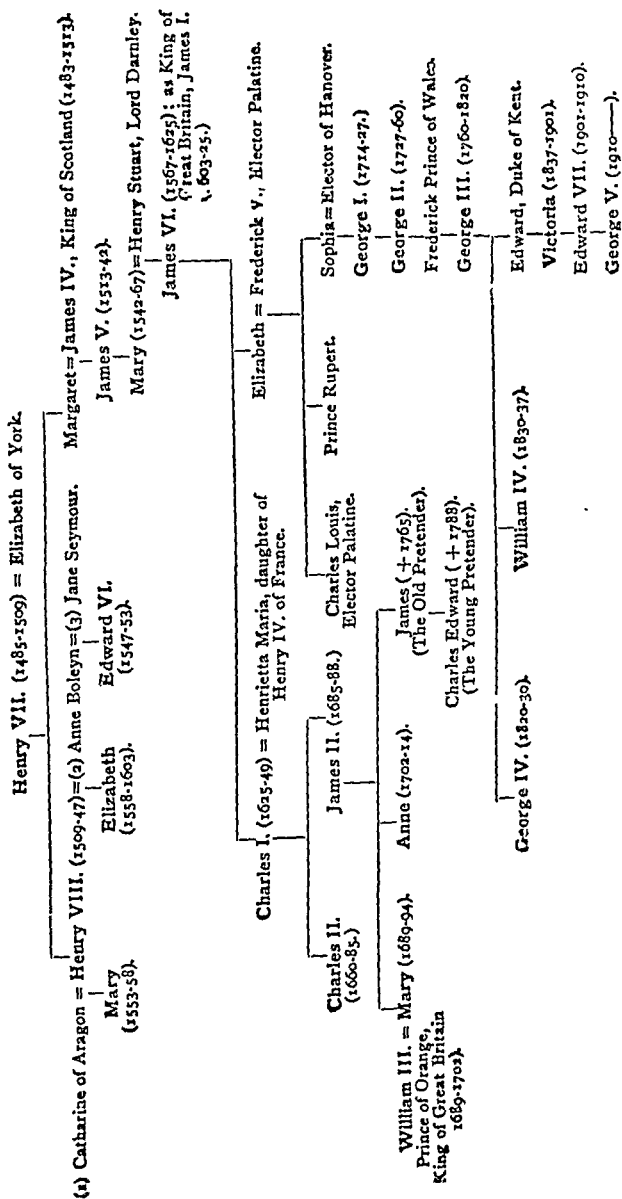


NOTE.—House of Lancaster in black type.

House of York in *italics*.

The broken line indicates that Margaret is a descendant of John of Gaunt, and that Henry VII. is therefore by his mother a Lancastrian.

3.—THE HOUSES OF TUDOR, STUART, AND HANOVER, SHOWING THEIR CONNECTION.



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